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BISHOP NEWTON'S

DISSERTATIONS

ON THE

PROPHECIES.

VOL. I.

DISSERTATIONS

ON THE

PROPHECIES,

WHICH

HAVE REMARKABLY BEEN FULFILLED,

AND AT THIS

TIME ARE FULFILLING IN THE WORLD.

111106

BY THOMAS NEWTON, D.D.

LATE LORD BISHOP OF BRISTOL.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

THE TWELFTH EDITION.

London:

Printed by R. & R. Gilbert, St. John's Square, Clerkenwell;

FOR F. C. AND J. RIVINGTON; J. NUNN; SCATCHERD AND LETTERMAN; LACKINGTON AND CO.; J. RICHARDSON; J. M. RICHARDSON; LONGMAN AND CO.; J. MAWMAN; SHERWOOD AND CO.; BALDWIN AND CO.; BLACK AND SON; AND R. S. KIRBY.

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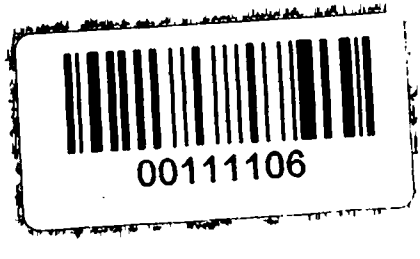

TO

HIS GRACE THE LORD ARCHBISHOP

OF

CANTERBURY:

(DR. HERRING.)

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

WITH Your wonted condescension and goodness, to accept this offering from my hands, as a testimony of my veneration for Your GRACE, and of my gratitude for your favours to me. A work of this kind I could not indeed address to any one so properly as to Your GRACE, on account of your eminent station, and much more on account of your amiable qualities, and more still as I have the happiness to live under Your peculiar jurisdiction: and Your GRACE is very kind in permitting me to inscribe it to Your Name, which kindness I will not abuse by the usual stile of dedications.

Your GRACE's virtues are so well known, and so universally esteemed, as to stand in need of no commendation, and much less of mine.

I would rather beg leave to apprise Your GRACE, and the reader, of the design of these dissertations: which is not to treat of the prophecies in general, nor even of those prophecies in particular which were fulfilled in the person and actions of our Saviour; but only of such as relate more immediately to these latter ages, and are in some measure receiving their accomplishment at this time. What first suggested the design, were some conversations formerly with a great General *, who had for many years the chief commands in the army, and was a man of good understanding, and of some reading, but unhappily had no great regard for revealed religion or the clergy. When the prophecies were urged as a proof of revelation, he constantly derided the notion, asserted that there

* Marshal *Wade*.

was no such thing, and that the prophecies which were pretended were written after the events. It was immediately replied that though such a thing might with less scruple and more confidence be affirmed of some prophecies fulfilled long ago, yet it could never be proved of any, the contrary might be proved almost to a demonstration: but it could not be so much as affirmed of several prophecies without manifest absurdity; for there were several prophecies in scripture, which were not fulfilled till these later ages, and were fulfilling even now, and consequently could not be framed after the events, but undeniably were written and published many ages before. He was startled at this, and said he must acknowlege, that if this point could be proved to satisfaction, there would be no arguing against such plain matter of fact; it would certainly convince him, and he believed would be the readiest way to convince every reasonable man, of the truth of revelation.

It was this occasion, my LORD, that first gave rise to these dissertations, which were originally drawn up in the form of some sermons. But since that time, they have been new-modeled, much altered and much inlarged, and confirmed by proper authorities. And though some of them only are here published, yet each dissertation may be considered as a distinct treatise by itself. It is hoped indeed, that the whole, like an arch, will add strength and firmness to each part; but at the same time care hath been taken, that the parts should have strength in themselves, as well as a relation to the whole, and a connection with each other. The publication therefore of some parts cannot be improper; and the others shall go to the press as soon as an indifferent share of health, constant preaching twice a day, and other necessary duties and avocations will permit me to put the finishing hand to them.

Every reader must know, Your GRACE and every scholar must know more especially, that

such works are not to be precipitated. They require time and learned leisure, great reading and great exactness, being disquisitions of some of the most curious points of history, as well as explications of some of the most difficult passages of scripture. And I should not presume to offer any of them to Your GRACE, or to submit them to the public censure, if they had not been first perused and corrected by some of my friends, and particularly by three of the best scholars, and ablest critics of this age, Bishop Pearce, Dr. Warburton, and Dr. Jortin; who were also my friendly coadjutors in my edition of Milton; and as they excel in all good learning themselves, so they are very ready to promote and assist the well-meant endevors of others.

When the other parts shall appear, they shall likewise beg Your GRACE's patronage and protection. And in the mean time may Your GRACE's health be re-established and continue

many years for the good of this church and nation! It is nothing to say that it is my earnest wish: It is the wish of all mankind: but of none more ardently than,

May it please your GRACE,

Your GRACE's *most dutiful,*

and obliged,

and obedient servant,

Oct. 5, 1754.

THOMAS NEWTON.

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Secunda pars (historiæ ecclesiasticæ) quæ est historia ad prophetias, ex duobus relativis constat, prophetia ipsa et ejus adimpletione. Quapropter tale esse debet hujus operis institutum, ut cum singulis ex scripturis prophetiis eventuum veritas conjungatur; idque per omnes mundi ætates, tum ad confirmationem fidei, tum ad instituendam disciplinam quandam et peritiam interpretatione prophetiarum, quæ adhuc restant complendæ. Attamen in hac re, admittenda est illa latitudo, quæ divinis vaticiniis propria est et familiaris; ut adimpletiones eorum non fiant et continenter et punctualiter: referunt enim authoris sui naturam; *cui unus dies tanquam mille anni, et mille anni tanquam unus dies:* Atque licet plenitudo et fastigium complementi eorum, plerunque alicui certæ ætati, vel etiam certo momento destinetur; attamen habent interim gradus nonnullos et scalas complementi, per diversas mundi ætates. Hoc opus desiderari statuo, verum tale est, ut magna cum sapientia, sobrietate, et reverentia tractandum sit, aut omnino dimittendum.

Bacon de Augmentis Scientiarum. Lib. 2. Cap. 11.

The Second Part which is the *History of Prophecy*, consisteth of two relatives, *the Prophecy* itself, and *the accomplishment thereof.* Wherefore the design of this work ought to be, that every Prophecy of Scripture be sorted with the truth of the event; and that throughout all the ages of the world; both for confirmation of Faith; as also to plant a discipline, and skill in the interpretation of Propliecies, which are not yet accomplished. But in this work that latitude must be allowed which is proper, and familiar unto *Divine Prophecies;* that their accomplishments may be both perpetual and punctual: for they resemble the nature of their author to whom one day is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as but one day: and though the fulness and height of their complement be many times assigned to some certain age, or certain point of time, yet they have nevertheless many stairs and scales of accomplishment throughout divers ages of the world. This work I set down as DEFICIENT, but it is of that nature as must be handled with great wisdom, sobriety, and reverence, or not at all.

Bacon, of the Advancement of Learning, Book 2. chap. 11. §. 2.

DISSERTATIONS

ON THE

PROPHECIES,

WHICH HAVE REMARKABLY BEEN FULFILLED, AND AT THIS TIME ARE FULFILLING IN THE WORLD.

INTRODUCTION.

ONE of the strongest evidences for the truth of revealed religion is that series of prophecies which is preserved in the Old and New Testament; and a greater service perhaps could not be done to Christianity than to lay together the several predictions of scripture with their completions, to show how particularly things have been foretold, and how exactly fulfilled. A work of this kind was desired by the Lord Bacon in his (1) Advancement of Learning: and he intitleth it *the history of prophecy*, and therein would have "every prophecy of the scripture be sorted with the event fulfilling the same throughout the ages of the world, both for the better confirmation of faith," as he saith, "and for the better illumination of the church, touching those parts of prophecies which are yet unfulfilled: allowing nevertheless that latitude which is agreeable and familiar unto divine prophecies, being of the nature of the author with whom a thousand years are but as one day, and therefore they are not fulfilled punctually at once, but have springing and germinant accomplishment throughout many ages, though the highth or fulness of them may refer to some one age."

Such a work indeed would be a wonderful confirmation of our faith, it being the prerogative of God alone, or of those who are

(1) Book the 2d. in English.

commissioned by him, certainly to foretel future events; and the consequence is so plain and necessary, from the believing of prophecies to the believing of revelation, that an infidel hath no way of evading the conclusion but by denying the premises. But why should it be thought at all incredible for God upon special occasions to foretel future events? Or how could a divine revelation (only supposing that there was a divine revelation) be better attested, and confirmed than by prophecies? It is certain that God hath perfect and most exact knowledge of futurity, and foresees all things to come, as well as comprehends every thing past or present. It is certain too that as he knoweth them perfectly himself, so he may reveal them to others in what degrees and proportions he pleaseth; and that he actually hath revealed them in several instances, no man can deny, every man must acknowlege, who compares the several prophecies of scripture with the events fulfilling the same.

But so many ages have passed since the spirit of prophecy hath ceased in the world, that several persons are apt to imagin, that no such thing ever existed, and that what we call predictions are only histories written, after the events had happened, in a prophetic style and manner: which is easily said indeed, but hath never been proved, nor is there one tolerable argument to prove it. On the contrary there are all the proofs and authorities, which can be had in cases of this nature, that the prophets prophesied in such and such ages, and the events happened afterwards in such and such ages: and you have as much reason to believe these, as you have to believe any ancient matters of fact whatever; and by the same rule that you deny these, you might as well deny the credibility of all ancient history.

But such is the temper and genius of infidels; *they understand neither what they say, nor whereof they affirm*; and so betray their own ignorance, rather than acknowlege the force of divine truth; and assert things with the least shadow or color of proof, rather than admit the strongest proofs of divine revelation. It betrays ignorance indeed, altogether unworthy of persons of liberal education, not to know when such and such authors florished, and such and such remarkable events happened; and it must be something worse than ignorance to assert things without the least shadow or color of proof, contrary to all the marks and characters by which

we judge of the truth and genuinness of ancient authors, contrary to the whole tenor of history both sacred and profane, which in this respect give wonderful light and assistance to each other: and yet these are the men, who would be thought to see farther and to know more than other people, and will believe nothing without evident proof and demonstration.

The facts, say they, were prior to the predictions, and the prophecies were written after the histories. But what if we should be able to prove the truth of prophecy, and consequently the truth of revelation, not by an induction of particulars long ago foretold and long ago fulfilled the predictions whereof you may therefore suppose to have been written after the histories, but by instances of things which have confessedly many ages ago been foretold, and have in these later ages been fulfilled, or are fulfilling at this very time; so that you cannot possibly pretend the prophecies to have been written after the events, but must acknowlege the events many ages after to correspond exactly with the predictions many ages before? This province we will now enter upon, this task we will undertake, and will not only produce instances of things foretold with the greatest clearness in ages preceding, and fulfilled with the greatest exactness in ages following, if there is any truth in history sacred or profane; but we will also (to cut up the objection entirely by the roots) insist chiefly upon such prophecies, as are known to have been written and published in books many ages ago, and yet are receiving their completion, in part at least, at this very day.

For this is one great excellency of the evidence drawn from prophecy for the truth of religion, that it is a *growing* evidence; and the more prophecies are fulfilled, the more testimonies there are, and confirmations of the truth and certainty of divine revelation. And in this respect we have eminently the advantage over those, who lived even in the days of Moses and the prophets, of Christ and his apostles. They were happy indeed in hearing their discourses and seeing their miracles, and doubtless *many righteous men have desired to see those things which they saw and have not seen them, and to hear those things which they heard and have not heard them;* (Mat. xiii. 17.) but yet I say we have this advantage over them, that several things, which were then only foretold, are now fulfilled; and what were to them only matters of faith, are

become matters of fact and certainty to us, upon whom the later ages of the world are come. God in his goodness hath afforded to every age sufficient evidence of the truth. Miracles may be said to have been the great proofs of revelation to the first ages who saw them performed. Prophecies may be said to be the great proofs of revelation to the last ages who see them fulfilled. All pretence too for denying the prophecies of scripture is by these means absolutely precluded; for how can it be pretended that the prophecies were written after the events, when it appears that the latest of these prophecies were written and published in books near 1700 years ago, and the events have, many of them, been accomplished several ages after the predictions, or perhaps are accomplishing in the world at this present time? You are therefore reduced to this necessity, that you must either renounce your senses, and deny what you may read in your bibles, together with what you may see and observe in the world: or else must acknowlege the truth of prophecy, and in consequence of that the truth of divine revelation.

Many of the principal prophecies of scripture will by these means come under our consideration, and they may be best considered with a view to the series and order of time. The subject is curious as it is important, and will be very well worth *my* pains and *your* attention: and though it turn chiefly upon points of learning, yet I shall endeavour to render it as intelligible, and agreeable, and edifying as I can to all sorts of readers. It is hoped the work will prove the more generally acceptable, as it will not consist merely of abstract speculative divinity, but will be inlivened with a proper intermixture of history, and will include several of the most material transactions from the beginning of the world to this day.

DISSERTATIONS

ON THE

PROPHECIES.

I.

NOAH'S PROPHECY.

THE first prophecy that occurs in scripture, is that part of the sentence pronounced upon the serpent, which is, as I may say, the first opening of Christianity, the first promise of our redemption. We read in Genesis (iii. 15.) *I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel.* If you understand this in the sense which is commonly put upon it by christian interpreters, you have a remarkable prophecy and remarkably fulfilled. Taken in any other sense, it is not worthy of Moses, nor indeed of any sensible writer.

The history of the antediluvian times is very short and concise, and there are only a few prophecies relating to the deluge. As Noah was a preacher of righteousness to the old world, so he was a prophet to the new, and was enabled to predict the future condition of his posterity, which is a subject that upon many accounts requires a particular discussion.

It is an excellent character that is given of Noah, (Gen. vi. 9.) *Noah was a just man, and perfect in his generations, and Noah walked with God.* But the best of men are not without their infirmities; and Noah (Gen.

ix. 20, &c.) having *planted a vineyard, and drank of the wine,* became inebriated, not knowing perhaps the nature and strength of the liquor, or being through age incapable of bearing it: and Moses is so faithful an historian, that he records the failings and imperfections of the most venerable patriarchs, as well as their merits and virtues. Noah in this condition lay *uncovered within his tent: and Ham the father of Canaan saw the nakedness of his father;* and instead of concealing his weakness, as a good-natured man or at least a dutiful son would have done, he cruelly exposed it *to his two brethren without.* But *Shem and Japheth,* more compassionate to the infirmities of their aged father, *took a garment* and *went backward* with such decency and respect, that they *saw not the nakedness of their father* at the same time that they *covered it.* When *Noah awoke from his wine,* he was informed of *what his younger son had done unto him.* The (1) word in the original signifies his *little* son: and some (2) commentators therefore, on account of what follows, have imagined that Canaan joined with his father Ham in this mockery and insult upon Noah; and the (3) Jewish rabbins have a tradition, that Canaan was the first who saw Noah in this posture, and then went and called his father Ham, and concurred with him in ridiculing and exposing the old man. But this is a very

(1) קטן *katan,* parvus, minor, minimus. [Little, less, least.]

(2) Hinc probabiliter colligitur eum fuisse paternæ iniquitatis socium. Piscator apud Polum. [Hence it is inferred with great probability, that he was a companion with his father in his transgression. See Piscator in Pool's Synopsis on Gen. ix. 25.]

(3) Vid. Origen. in Genesim, p. 33. vol. 2. Edit. Benedict. Operosè quæritur, cui Chami maledictionem in caput filii Chanaan contorserit. Respondet Theodoretus in Genes. quæst. 57. ab Hebræo quodam se didicisse primum Chanaan avi sui verenda animadvertisse, et patri ostentasse, tanquam de sene ridentem. Et vero tale quid legitur in Beresith Rabba sect. 37. qui liber scriptus fuit diu ante Theodoretum. Bocharti Phaleg. Lib. 4. Cap. 37. Col. 308. [Origen on the book of Genesis, page 33, of Vol. II. in the Benedictine Edition. It is a question that has been greatly agitated, why the curse due to Ham should have been denounced by Noah against Canaan. Theodoret answers, in his 57th question on the book of Genesis, that he had learned from a certain Jew, that Canaan first beheld the nakedness of his grandfather, and in a sneering and contemptuous manner pointed him out to his father. And it is true that this tradition is to be met with in Bereshit Rabba, sect. 37. a rabbinical book written long before the time of Theodoret. See Bochart's Phaleg. Book IV. Chap. xxxvii. Col. 308.]

arbitrary method of interpretation; no mention was made before of Canaan and of what he had done, but only of *Ham the father of Canaan;* and of him therefore must the phrase of *little son* or *youngest son* be naturally and necessarily understood.

In consequence of this different behaviour of his three sons, Noah as a patriarch was inlightened, and as the father of a family who is to reward or punish his children was impowered, to foretel the different fortunes of their families: for this prophecy relates not so much to themselves as to their posterity, the people and nations descended from them. He was not prompted by wine or resentment; for neither the one nor the other could infuse the knowlege of futurity or inspire him with the prescience of events, which happened hundreds, nay thousands of years afterwards. But God, willing to manifest his superintendence and government of the world, indued Noah with the spirit of prophecy, and enabled him in some measure to disclose the purposes of his providence towards the future race of mankind. At the same time it was some comfort and reward to Shem and Japheth, for their reverence and tenderness to their father, to hear of the *blessing* and *inlargement* of their posterity; and it was some mortification and punishment to Ham, for his mockery and cruelty to his father, to hear of the *malediction* and *servitude* of some of his children, and that as he was a wicked son himself, so a wicked race should spring from him.

This then was Noah's prophecy: and it was delivered, as (4) most of the ancient prophecies were delivered, in metre for the help of the memory, (Gen. ix. 25, 26, 27).

Cursed be Canaan.
A servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren,
Blessed be Jehovah the God of Shem;
And Canaan shall be their servant.
God shall inlarge Japheth.

(4) The reader may see this point proved at large in the very ingenious and learned Mr. Archdeacon Lowth's poetical Prælections (particularly Prælect. 18.) &c. a work that merits the attention of all who study the Hebrew language, and of the clergy especially.

And shall dwell in the tents of Shem,
And Canaan shall be their servant.

Canaan was the fourth son of Ham according to the order wherein they are mentioned in the ensuing chapter. And for what reason can you believe that Canaan was so particularly marked out for the curse? for his father Ham's transgression? But where would be the justice or equity to pass by Ham himself with the rest of his children, and to punish only Canaan for what Ham had committed? Such arbitrary proceedings are contrary to all our ideas of the divine perfections; and we may say in this case what was said in another, (Gen. xviii. 25.) *Shall not the judge of all the earth do right?* The curse was so far from being pronounced upon Canaan for his father Ham's transgression, that we do not read that it was pronounced for his own, nor was executed till several hundred years after his death. The truth is, the curse is to be understood not so properly of Canaan, as of his descendents to the latest generations. It is thinking meanly of the ancient prophecies of scripture, and having very imperfect, very unworthy conceptions of them; to limit their intention to particular persons. In this view the ancient prophets would be really what the Deists think them, little better than common fortune-tellers; and their prophecies would hardly be worth remembering or recording, especially in so concise and compendious a history as that of Moses. We must affix a larger meaning to them, and understand them not of single persons, but of whole nations; and thereby a nobler scene of things, and a more extensive prospect will be opened to us of the divine dispensations. The *curse* of *servitude* pronounced upon Canaan, and so likewise the promise of *blessing* and *inlargement* made to Shem and Japheth, are by no means to be confined to their own persons, but extend to their whole race, as afterwards the prophecies concerning Ishmael, and those concerning Esau and Jacob, and those relating to the twelve patriarchs, were not so properly verified in themselves as in their posterity, and thither we must look for their

full and perfect completion. The curse therefore upon Canaan was properly a curse upon the Canaanites. God foreseeing the wickedness of this people, (which began in their father Ham, and greatly increased in this branch of his family) commissioned Noah to pronounce a curse upon them, and to devote them to the servitude and misery, which their more than common vices and iniquities would deserve. And this account was plainly written by Moses, for the encouragement of the Israelites, to support and animate them in their expedition against a people, who by their sins had forfeited the divine protection, and were destined to slavery from the days of Noah.

We see the purport and meaning of the prophecy, and now let us attend to the completion of it. *Cursed be Canaan;* and the Canaanites appear to have been an abominably wicked people. The sin and punishment of the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah and the cities of the plain are too well known to be particularly specified: and for the other inhabitants of the land, which was promised to Abraham and his seed, God bore with them, *till their iniquity was full.* (Gen. xv. 16.) They were not only addicted to idolatry, which was then the case of the greater part of the world, but were guilty of the worst sort of idolatry; *for every abomination to the Lord, which he hateth, have they done unto their gods; for even their sons and their daughters they have burnt in the fire to their gods.* (Deut. xii. 31.) Their religion was bad, and their morality (if possible) was worse; for corrupt religion and corrupt morals usually generate each other, and go hand in hand together. Read the 18th and the 20th chapters of Leviticus, and you will find that unlawful marriages and unlawful lusts, witchcraft, adultery, incest, sodomy, beastiality, and the like monstrous enormities were frequent and common among them. And was not a *curse* in the nature of things, as well as in the just judgment of God, deservedly entailed upon such a people and nation as this? It was not *for their own righteousness* that *the Lord brought* the Israelites in *to possess the land:* but *for the wickedness of these nations did the Lord drive them*

out: (Deut. ix. 4.) and he would have driven out the Israelites in like manner for the very same abominations. (Levit xviii. 25, &c.) *Defile not yourselves in any of these things; for in all these the nations are defiled which I cast out before you. And the land is defiled; therefore I do visit the iniquity thereof upon it, and the land itself vomiteth out her inhabitants. Ye shall therefore keep my statutes and my judgments, and shall not commit any of these abominations—That the land spue not you out also when you defile it, as it spued out the nations that were before you. For whosoever shall commit any of these abominations, even the souls that commit them, shall be cut off from among their people.*

But the curse particularly implies servitude and subjection. *Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren.* It is very well known that the word *brethren* in Hebrew comprehends more distant relations. The descendents therefore of Canaan were to be subject to the descendents of both Shem and Japheth: and the natural consequence of vice, in communities as well as in single persons, is slavery. The same thing is repeated again and again in the two following verses, *and Canaan shall be servant unto them,* or *their servant;* so that this is as it were the burden of the prophecy. Some (5) critics take the phrase of *servant of servants* strictly and literally, and say that the prediction was exactly fulfilled, when the Canaanites became servants to the Israelites, who had been servants to the Egyptians. But this is refining too much; the phrase of (6) *servant of servants* is of the same turn and

(5) Noa Chamum execratus prædixerat fore ut ejus posteri servi essent servorum: atque id impletum in Chananæis, tum cum subire coacti sunt Israelitarum jugum qui Ægyptiis diu servierant. Bocharti Phaleg. Lib I. Cap. 1. Col. 3, 4. [Noah cursing Ham, foretold that a time should come, when his posterity would be the servant of servants. This prediction was fulfilled in the Canaanites, at that time, when they were compelled to come under the yoke of the Israelites, a people who for a long time had served the Egyptians. Bochart's Phaleg, Book I. Chap. i. Col. 3, 4.]

(6) S. Pompeius, studiis rudis, libertorum suorum libertus, *servorumque servus*, speciosis invidens ut pareret humillimis. Velleius Paterc. II. 73. Hic vero valet *postremus servorum*. Vid. Sallust. Fragm. Id. Velleius II. 83. Infra servos cliens.—From some M.S. Notes of Mr. Wasse's in the hands of Dr. Jortin. [S. Pompey was a man without letters, a freedman of freedmen, and

cast as *holy of holies, king of kings, song of songs,* and the like expressions in scripture; and imports that they should be the lowest and basest of servants.

We cannot be certain as to the time of the delivery of this prophecy; for the history of Moses is so concise, that it hath not gratified us in this particular. If the prophecy was delivered soon after the transactions, which immediately precede in the history, Noah's *beginning to be a husbandman, and planting a vineyard,* it was soon after the deluge, and then Canaan was prophesied of before he was born, as it was prophesied of Esau and Jacob (Gen. xxv. 23.) *the elder shall serve the younger,* before the children *were born and had done either good or evil,* as St. Paul saith. (Rom. ix. 11.) If the prophecy was delivered a little before the transactions, which immediately follow in the history, it was a little before Noah's death, and he was inlightened in his last moments as Jacob was, to *foretel* what *should befal* his posterity *in the latter days.* (Gen. xlix. 1.) However this matter may be determined, it was several centuries after the delivery of this prophecy, when the Israelites, who were descendents of Shem, under the command of Joshua, invaded the Canaanites, smote above thirty of their kings, took possession of their land, slew several of the inhabitants, made the Gibeonites and others servants and tributaries, and Solomon afterwards subdued the rest. (2 Chron. viii. 7, 8, 9.) *As for all the people that were left of the Hittites, and the Amorites, and the Perizzites, and the Hivites, and the Jebusites, which were not of Israel; but of their children who were left after them in the land, whom the children of Israel consumed not; them did Solomon make to pay tribute until this day. But of the children of Israel did Solomon make no servants for his work: but they were men of war, and chief of his captains, and captains of his chariots and horsemen.* The Greeks and Romans too, who were de-

a *servant of servants.* He envied the great, while he cringed to the basest. Velleius Paterculus, II. 73. Here indeed *the lowest of servants* obtains the superiority. A vassal below the condition of servants. See the fragments of Sallust and also Velleius Book II. 83.]

scendents of Japheth, not only subdued Syria and Palestine, but also pursued and conquered such of the Canaanites as were any where remaining, as for instance the Tyrians and Carthaginians, the former of whom were ruined by Alexander and the Grecians, and the latter by Scipio and the Romans. "This fate," says (7) Mr. Mede, "was it that made Hannibal, a child "of Canaan, cry out with the amazement of his soul "*Agnosco fortunam Carthaginis, I acknowlege the for-*"*tune of Carthage.*" And ever since the miserable remainder of this people have been slaves to a foreign yoke, first to the Saracens, who descended from Shem, and afterwards to the Turks, who descended from Japheth; and they groan under their dominion at this day.

Hitherto we have explained the prophecy according to the present copies of our bible: but if we were to correct the text, as we should any ancient classic author in a like case, the whole perhaps might be made easier and plainer. *Ham the father of Canaan* is mentioned in the preceding part of the story; and how then came the person of a sudden to be changed into *Canaan?* The (8) Arabic version in these three verses hath *the father of Canaan* instead of *Canaan.* Some (9) copies of the Septuagint likewise have *Ham* instead of *Canaan,* as if Canaan was a corruption of the text. Vatablus and others (1) by *Canaan* understand the *father of Canaan,* which was expressed twice before. And if we regard the metre, this line *Cursed be Canaan,* is much shorter than the rest, (2) as if something was deficient. May

(7) Mede's Works, Book I. Disc. 50. page 284. Livy. Lib. 27; in fine.

(8) Maledictus pater Canaan, &c. Arab. [Cursed be the father of Canaan. See the Arabic version.]

(9) Les Septante dans quelques exemplaires au lieu de Canaan, lisent Cham, comme si le texte qui porte Canaan etoit corrompu. Calmet on the text. So Ainsworth too. [The Septuagint in some copies have Ham instead of Canaan, as if Canaan were a corruption of the text.]

(1) Quidam subaudiunt אבי *pater*, quod paulo ante bis expressum est, Maledictus Cham pater Chananæorum. Vatab. in locum. [Some suppose that the אבי father, ought to be understood, because a little above Ham is twice called the father of Canaan. Vatablus on the passage.]

(2) My suspicion hath since been confirmed by the reverend and learned Mr. Creen, fellow of Clare-Hall in Cambridge; who is admirably well skilled

we not suppose therefore, (without taking such liberties as Father Houbigant hath with the Hebrew text) that the copyist by mistake wrote only *Canaan*, instead of *Ham the father of Canaan*, and that the whole passage was originally thus? *And Ham the father of Canaan saw the nakedness of his father, and told his two brethren without —And Noah awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger Son had done unto him. And he said, Cursed be* Ham the father of *Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren. And he said, Blessed be the Lord God of Shem; and* Ham the father of *Canaan shall be servant to them. God shall inlarge Japheth; and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem; and* Ham the father of *Canaan shall be servant to them.*

By this reading all the three sons of Noah are included in the prophecy, whereas otherwise Ham, who was the offender, is excluded, or is only punished in one of his

in the Hebrew language and Hebrew metre, and hath given abundant proofs of his knowlege and judgment in these matters in his new translation and commentary on the song of Deborah, the prayer of Habakuk, &c. He asserts that according to Bishop Hare's metre, the words *ham abi* are necessary to fill up the verse. He proposes a farther emendation of the text, by the omission of one line, and the transposition of another, and would read the whole prophecy thus, according to the metre.

And Noah said,
Cursed be Ham the father of Canaan;
A servant of servants shall he be to his brethren.
And he said,
Blessed be Jehovah the God of Shem;
For he shall dwell in the tents of Shem.
God shall inlarge Japheth;
And Canaan shall be their servant.

If you will not allow this emendation to be right and certain, yet I think you must allow it to be probable and ingenious, to render the sense clearer and plainer, and to give every part its just weight and proportion. Or the whole may, with only a transposition and without any omission, be represented thus:

And Noah said,
Cursed be Ham the father of Canaan,
A servant of servants shall he be to his brethren.
And he said,
Blessed be the Lord God of Shem;
For he shall dwell in the tents of Shem;
And Ham the father of Canaan shall be their servant.
God shall inlarge Japheth,
And Ham the father of Canaan shall be their servant.

children. Ham is characterized as *the father of Canaan* particularly, for the greater encouragement of the Israelites, who were going to invade the land of Canaan: and when it is said *Cursed be Ham the father of Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren;* it is implied that his whole race was devoted to servitude, but particularly the Canaanites. Not that this was to take effect immediately, but was to be fulfilled in process of time, when they should forfeit their liberties by their wickedness. Ham at first subdued some of the posterity of Shem, as Canaan sometimes conquered Japheth; the Carthaginians, who were originally Canaanites, did particularly in Spain and Italy: but in time they were to be subdued, and to become servants to Shem and Japheth; and the change of their fortune from good to bad would render the curse still more visible. Egypt was *the land of Ham,* as it is often called in scripture; and for many years it was a great and flourishing kingdom; but it was subdued by the Persians, who descended from Shem, and afterwards by the Grecians, who descended from Japheth; and from that time to this it hath constantly been in subjection to some or other of the posterity of Shem or Japheth. The whole Continent of (3) Africa was peopled principally by the children of Ham; and for how many ages have the better parts of that country lain under the dominion of the Romans, and then of the Saracens, and now of the Turks? In what wickedness, ignorance, barbarity, slavery, misery, live most of the inhabitants? And of the poor negroes how many hundreds every year are sold and bought like beasts in the market, and are conveyed from one quarter of the world to do the work of beasts in another?

Nothing can be more complete than the execution of the sentence upon *Ham* as well as upon *Canaan:* and now

(3) Cham licet maledictus, non tamen fuit exclusus a terrenis benedictionibus—Quippe in mundi divisione, illi præter Ægyptum atque Africam universam Syriæ magna pars obtigit, &c. Bocharti Phaleg. lib. 4. Cap. 1. Col. 203. [Ham although cursed, yet was not excluded from earthly blessings —For in the division of the world, besides Egypt and the whole continent of Africa, a large portion of Syria was likewise allotted to him. Bochart's Phaleg. Book IV. Chap. i. Col. 203.]

let us consider the promises made to *Shem* and *Japheth*. *And he said* (ver. 26.) *Blessed be the Lord God of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant:* or rather, *and Canaan shall be a servant to them,* or *their servant,* that is to his brethren; for that, as we observed before, is the main part of the prophecy, and therefore is so frequently repeated. A learned critic (4) in the Hebrew language, who hath lately published some remarks on the printed Hebrew text, saith that "if it should be thought pre-"ferable to refer the word *blessed* directly to *Shem,* as "the word cursed is to Canaan; the words may be (and "perhaps more pertinently) rendered—*Blessed of Je-"hovah, my God, be Shem!*" See Gen. xxiv. 31. Or if we choose (as most perhaps will choose) to follow our own as well as all the ancient versions, we may observe that the old patriarch doth not say *Blessed be Shem,* as he said, *Cursed be Canaan;* for mens evil springeth of themselves, but their good from God: and therefore in a strain of devotion breaketh forth into thanksgiving to God as the author of all good to Shem. Neither doth he say the same to Japheth; for God certainly may dispense his particular favors according to his good pleasure, and salvation was to be derived to mankind through Shem and his posterity. God prefers Shem to his elder brother Japheth, as Jacob was afterwards preferred to Esau, and David to his elder brothers, to show that the order of grace is not always the same as the order of nature. The Lord being called *the God of Shem* particularly, it is plainly intimated that the Lord would be *his God* in a particular manner. And accordingly the church of God was among the posterity of Shem for several generations; and of *them* (Rom. ix. 5.) *as concerning the flesh Christ came.*

But still Japheth was not dismissed without a promise, (ver. 47.) *God shall inlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem; and Canaan shall be servant to them,* or *their servant. God shall inlarge Japheth.* Some render the word (it is so rendered in the margin of our bibles)

(4) See Kennicott's Dissertation, p. 561.

God shall *persuade* or *allure* Japheth, so that he shall come over to the true religion, *and dwell in the tents of Shem.* But the (5) best critics in the language have remarked, besides other reasons, that they who translate the word by *persuade* or *allure,* did not consider, that when it is so taken, it is used in a bad sense, and governs an accusative case, and not a dative as in this place. *God shall inlarge Japheth,* or *unto Japheth,* is the best rendring: and in the original there is a manifest allusion to Japheth's name, such as is familiar to the Hebrew writers. As it was said of Noah, (Gen. v. 29.) *This same shall comfort us,* the name of *Noah* being thought to signify *comfort:* As it is said of Judah, (Gen xlix. 8.) *Thou art he whom thy brethren shall praise,* and the name of *Judah* signifies *praise:* As it is said of Dan, (ver. 16.) *Dan shall judge his people,* and the name of *Dan* signifies *judging:* As it is said of Gad, (ver. 19.) *A troop shall overcome him,* and the name of *Gad* signifies a *troop* or company: So it is said here, *God shall inlarge Japheth,* and the name of *Japheth* signifies *inlargement.* Was Japheth then more *inlarged* than the rest? Yes he was both in territory and in children. The territories of Japheth's posterity were indeed very large, for (6) besides all Europe, great and extensive as it is, they possessed the lesser Asia, Media, part of Armenia, Iberia, Albania, and those vast regions towards the north, which anciently the Scythians inhabited, and now the Tartars

(5) Bocharti Phaleg. Lib. 3. Cap. 1. Col. 149. Clericus in loc. &c.

(6) ——iis omnino assentior, qui per hæc verba volunt Japhetho promitti fore ut in terræ divisione amplissimam illi portionem habitandam Deus assignet. Quod Deum abunde præstitisse statim agnoscet quisquis, præter Europam quanta quanta est, ad Japhethi portionem pertinere cogitabit, Asiam minorem, et Mediam, et Armeniæ partem, et Iberiam, et Albaniam, et vastissimas illas regiones ad Boream, quas olim Scythæ, hodie Tartari obtinent. Ut de novo orbe taceam, in quem per fretum Anianis migrasse Scythas vero non est absimile. Bocharti Phaleg. Lib. 3. Cap. 1. Col, 149. [I altogether agree with those who think that by these words, it was promised to Japheth, that God in the division of the earth would bestow the greatest portion on his posterity. This must be acknowledged by every person, who considers that besides Europe, large as it is, they inhabit the lesser Asia, Media, a part of Armenia, Iberia, Albania, and those most extensive countries towards the north, which formerly the Scythians, but now the Tartars possess; to say nothing of the continent of America, into which, it is highly probable, they found their way by the straits of Anian. See Bochart's Phaleg. Book III. Chap. 1. Col. 149.]

inhabit: and it is not improbable that the new world was peopled by some of his northern descendents passing thither by the straits of Anian. The *inlargement* of Japheth may also denote a numerous progeny as well as ample territory: and if you consult the genealogies of the three brothers comprised in the following chapter, you will find that Japheth had *seven* sons, whereas Ham had only *four*, and Shem only *five*: and the northern hive (as Sir William Temple denominates it) was always remarkable for its fecundity, and hath been continually pouring forth swarms, and sending out colonies into the more southern parts, both in Europe and in Asia, both in former and in later times.

The following clause, *and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem*, is capable of a double construction; for thereby may be meant either that *God* or that *Japheth shall dwell in the tents of Shem; in the tents of Shem*, saith he, speaking according to the simplicity of those times, when men dwelt in tents and not in houses. They who prefer the former construction, seem to have the authority of the original text on their side; for there is no other noun to govern the verbs in the period, but *God;* there is no pronoun in the Hebrew answering to the *he* which is inserted in our English translation: and the whole sentence would run thus, *God will inlarge Japheth, and will dwell in the tents of Shem*: and the Chaldee of (7) Onkelos also thus paraphraseth it, *and will make his glory to dwell in the tabernacles of Shem.* They who prefer the latter construction, seem to have done it, that they might refer this 27th verse wholly to Japheth, as they refer the 26th wholly to Shem: but the other appears to me the more natural and easy construction. Taken in either sense, the prophecy hath been most punctually fulfilled. In the former sense it was fulfilled literally, when the *Shechinah* or divine presence rested on the ark and dwelt in the tabernacle and temple of the Jews; and when *the Word who was with God and was God* (John i. 1.) εσκηνωσεν, pitched his tent, *and dwelt among us.* (ver. 14.)

(7) Et habitare faciet gloriam suam in tabernaculis Sem. [Translated in the text.]

In the latter sense it was fulfilled first, when the Greeks and Romans, who sprung originally from Japheth, subdued and possessed Judea and other countries of Asia belonging to Shem; and again spiritually, when they were proselyted to the true religion, and they who were not Israelites by birth, became Israelites by faith, and lived as we and many others of Japheth's posterity do at this day, within the pale of the church of Christ.

What think you now? Is not this a most extraordinary prophecy; a prophecy that was delivered near four thousand years ago, and yet hath been fulfilling thro' the several periods of time to this day! It is both wonderful and instructive. It is the history of the world as it were in epitome. And hence we are enabled to correct a mistake of one author, and expose the petulance of another.

1. The first is the learned and excellent Mr. Mede, an author always to be read with improvement, and to be corrected with reverence: but yet I conceive that he hath carried matters too far in ascribing more to this prophecy than really belongs to it. For discoursing of the dispersions and habitations of the sons of Noah, he (8) saith that "there hath never yet been a son of Ham, "who hath shaken a scepter over the head of Japheth: "Shem hath subdued Japheth, and Japheth hath sub-"dued Shem, but Ham never subdued either:" and this passage hath been cited by several (9) commentators to illustrate this prophecy. But this worthy person surely did not recollect, that Nimrod, the first monarch in the world was the son of Cush, who was the son of Ham. (Gen. x) Misraim was another son of Ham; he was the father of the Egyptians, and the Egyptians detained the Israelites in bondage several years. Shishak king of Egypt subdued Rehoboam king of Judah, (1 Kings xiv.) Sesostris king of Egypt (the same probably as Shishak) conquered great part of Europe and of Asia, if there is any faith in ancient history. The Carthaginians too, who descended from the Canaanites, as we noted before,

(8) See Mede's Works, B. 1. Disc. 49 and 50. p. 283. Edit. 1672.
(9) Patrick, &c.

gained several victories over the Romans in Spain and Italy. It was a mistake therefore to say that Ham never subdued Shem or Japheth. It is enough if he hath generally and for much the greatest part of time been a servant to them, as he really hath been for two or three thousand years, and continues at present. This sufficiently verifies the prediction; and we should exceed the limits of truth, if we should extend it farther. We might almost as well say (as some have said) that the complexion of the blacks was in consequence of Noah's curse. But though Ham hath in some instances and upon some occasions been superior, yet this is memorable enough, that of the four famous monarchies of the world, the Assyrian, Persian, Grecian, and Roman, the two former were of the descendents of Shem, as the two latter were of the sons of Japheth.

2. The other is the famous author of the Letters on the study and use of history, who hath strangely abused his talents in abusing this prophecy. For the true meaning and exact completion of it rightly considered, what room is there for ridicule? and how absurd and impertinent as well as gross and indecent are his reflections? "The curse, says (1) he, pronounced in it contradicts "all our notions of order and of justice. One is tempted "to think, that the patriarch was still drunk; and that "no man in his senses could hold such language, or "pass such a sentence." But such will be the case, when men of more parts than judgment talk and write about things which they do not sufficiently understand: and especially in matters of religion, whereof they are by no means competent judges, having either never studied them at all, or studied them superficially and with prejudice. All that he hath written relating to these subjects betrays great weakness in a man of his capacity, weakness great as his malice; and we might have an easy victory over assertions without proofs, premises, without conclusions, and conclusions without premises. But I love not controversy, and will only

(1) Lord Bolingbroke's Works, Vol. 2. Letter the 3d. p. 314. Edition quarto.

make two or three reflections, just to give a specimen of the boasted learning and abilities of this writer.

His lordship seemeth to take a particular pleasure in railing at pedants, at the same time that he is himself one of the most pedantic of writers, if it be pedantry to make a vain ostentation of learning, and to quote authors without either reading or understanding them, or even knowing so much as who and what they are. "The Codex Alexandrinus, (2) saith he, we owe to "George the monk." We are indebted indeed to George the monk, more usually called Syncellus, for what is intitled *Vetus Chronicon* or an old chronicle. But the *Codex Alexandrinus* is quite another thing; it is, as all the learned know, the famous Greek MS. of the Old and New Testament, brought originally from Alexandria, and presented to Charles I. and now remaining in the King's library, of which it doth not appear that George the monk knew any thing, and it is evident that his lordship knew nothing. If he meant to say the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*, that is still another thing, and the work of another author.

His lordship is of opinion, (3) that "Virgil in those "famous verses Excudent alii &c. might have justly "ascribed to his countrymen the praise of writing history "better than the Grecians." But which are the Roman histories, that are to be preferred to the Grecian? Why, "the remains, the precious remains," says his lordship, "of Salust, of Livy, and of Tacitus." But it happened that (4) Virgil died, before Livy had written his history, and before Tacitus was born. And is not this an excellent chronologer now to correct all ancient history and chronology sacred and profane?

His lordship is likewise pleased to say, (5) that "Don Quixote believed, but even Sancho doubted:" and it may be asserted on the other side, that Sir Isaac Newton believed the prophecies, though his lordship

(2) Letter the 1st. p. 262. ibid.
(3) Letter the 5th. p. 340. &c.
(4) Virgil died A. U. C. 735. Livy according to Dodwell finished his history in 745. Tacitus was Consul in 850. See Fabricius.
(5) Letter the 4th. p. 130.

did not, the principal reason of which may be found perhaps in the different life and morals of the one and the other. Nay the wisest politicians and historians have been believers, as well as the greatest philosophers. Raleigh and Clarendon believed; Bacon and Locke believed; and where then is the discredit to revelation, if Lord Bolingbroke was an infidel? *A scorner,* as Solomon saith, (Prov. xiv. 6.) *seeketh wisdom, and findeth it not.*

But there cannot be a stronger condemnation of his lordship's conduct, than his own words upon another occasion in his famous Dissertation upon parties. "Some "men there are, the pests of society I think them, who "pretend a great regard to religion in general, but "who take every opportunity of declaiming publicly "against that system of religion, or at least against that "church establishment, which is received in Britain. "Just so the men, of whom I have been speaking, affect "a great regard to liberty in general; but they dislike "so much the system of liberty established in Britain, "that they are incessant in their endevors to puzzle the "plainest thing in the world, and to refine and distin-"guish away the life and strength of our constitution, in "favour of the little, present, momentary turns, which "they are retained to serve. What now would be the "consequence, if all these endevors should succeed? I "am persuaded that the great philosophers, divines, "lawyers, and politicians, who exert them, have not "yet prepared and agreed upon the plans of a new re-"ligion, and of new constitutions in church and state. "We should find ourselves therefore without any form "of religion, or civil government. The first set of these "missionaries would take off all the restraints of religion "from the governed; and the latter set would remove, "or render ineffectual, all the limitations and controlls, "which liberty hath prescribed to those that govern, "and disjoint the whole frame of our constitution. "Entire dissolution of manners, confusion, anarchy, or "perhaps absolute monarchy, would follow; for it is "possible, nay probable, that in such a state as this,

"and amidst such a rout of lawless savages, men would "choose this government, absurd as it is, rather than "have no government at all."

It is to be lamented that such a genius should be so employed: but the misapplication of those excellent talents with which God had intrusted him, was his reigning fault through every stage, through every scene of life. That which Lord (6) Digby said of the great Lord Strafford, may with more truth and justice be affirmed of him, that the malignity of his practices was hugely aggravated by those rare abilities of his, whereof God had given him the use; but the devil the application.

II.

THE PROPHECIES CONCERNING ISHMAEL.

ABRAHAM was the patriarch of greatest renown next after the times of Noah. He was favored with several revelations; and from him two very extraordinary nations descended, the Ishmaelites and Israelites, concerning each of whom there are some remarkable prophecies. Ishmael, though the son of the bond-woman, and not properly the child of promise, was yet distinguished by some express predictions for the comfort and satisfaction of both his parents. In the 16th chapter of Genesis, when Hagar *fled from the face of her mistress who had dealt hardly with her, the angel of the Lord found her in the wilderness, and said unto her, Return to thy mistress, and submit thyself under her hands. And the angel of the Lord said unto her, I will multiply thy seed exceedingly, that it shall not be numbered for multitude.*

(6) Rushworth, Vol. 4. p. 225.

And the angel of the Lord said unto her, Behold thou art with child, and shalt bear a son, and shalt call his name Ishmael (that is God shall hear) *because the Lord hath heard thy affliction. And he will be a wild man; his hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against him; and he shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren.* (ver. 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12.) In the following chapter, when Isaac was promised to Abraham, God still reserved a blessing for Ishmael, *Behold I have blessed him, and will make him fruitful, and will multiply him exceedingly: twelve princes shall he beget, and I will make him a great nation.* (ver. 20.) Afterwards when Hagar and Ishmael were sent forth into the wilderness, God said unto Abraham, (Gen. xx. 13.) *And also of the son of the bond woman will I make a great nation, because he is thy seed.* The same is repeated to Hagar, (ver. 18.) *I will make him a great nation.* And if we are curious to trace the course of events, we shall see how exactly these particulars have been fulfilled from the earliest down to the present times.

I will multiply thy seed exceedingly, that it shall not be numbered for multitude: and again, *Behold I have blessed him and will make him fruitful, and will multiply him exceedingly.* These passages evince that the prophecy doth not so properly relate to Ishmael, as to his posterity, which is here foretold to be very numerous. Ishmael married an Egyptian woman, as his mother was likewise an Egyptian: (Gen. xx. 21.) and in a few years his family was increased so, that in the 37th chapter of Genesis we read of Ishmaelites trading into Egypt. Afterwards his seed was multiplied exceedingly in the Hagarenes, who probably were denominated from his mother Hagar; and in the Nabathæans, who had their name from his son Nebaioth; and in the Itureans, who were so called from his son Jetur or Itur; and in the Arabs, especially the Scenites, and the Saracens, who over-ran a great part of the world: and his descendents, the Arabs, are a very numerous people at this day.

Twelve princes shall he beget. This circumstance is very particular; but it was punctually fulfilled; and

Moses hath given us the names of these twelve princes. (Gen. xxv. 16.) *These are the sons of Ishmael, and these are their names, by their towns, and by their castles; twelve princes according to their nations:* by which we are to understand, not that they were so many distinct sovran princes, but only heads of clans or tribes. Strabo frequently mentions the Arabian *phylarchs* as he denominates them, or rulers of tribes: and Melo quoted by Eusebius from Alexander Polyhistor, a heathen historian, relates (1) that "Abraham of his Egyptian wife begat "12 sons (he should have said one son who begat 12 "sons) who departing into Arabia divided the region "between them, and were the first kings of the in-"habitants: whence even in our days the Arabians "have twelve kings of the same names as the first." And ever since the people have been governed by phylarchs, and have lived in tribes; and still continue to do so, as (2) Thevenot and other modern travelers testify.

And I will make him a great nation. This is repeated twice or thrice: and it was accomplished, as soon as in the regular course of nature it could be accomplished. His seed in process of time grew up into a great nation, and such they continued for several ages, and such they remain to this day. They might indeed emphatically be stiled *a great nation,* when the Saracens had made those rapid and extensive conquests, and erected one of the largest empires that ever were in the world.

And he will be a wild man. In the original it is a *wild ass-man,* and the learned (3) Bochart translates it

(1) εκ μεν της Αιγυπτιας γενησαι υἱους ιϛ, ὰς δη εις Αραβιαν απαλλαγεντας διελεσθαι την χωραν και πρωτους βασιλευσαι των ἐγχωριων· οθεν ἑως καθ' ημας δωδεκα εἰναι βασιλεις Αραβων ὁμωνυμους εκεινοις. Ex Ægyptia liberos duodecim genuisse, qui in Arabiam profecti eam inter se diviserint locique hominibus principes imperarint: ex quo factum sit, ut reges Arabum duodecim primis illis cognomines ad nostra usque tempora numerentur. Euseb. Præpar. Evang. Lib. 9. Cap. 19. p. 421. Edit. Vigeri. [Translated in the text.]

(2) See Part 1. B. 2. C. 32. See likewise Harris's Voyages, Vol. 2. Book 2. Chap. 9.

(3) Hierozoic. Pars prior. Lib. 3. Cap. 16, Col. 878.

tam ferus quam onager, as wild as a wild ass; so that that should be eminently true of him, which in the book of Job (xl. 12.) is affirmed of mankind in general, *Man is born like a wild ass's colt.* But what is the nature of the creature to which Ishmael is so particularly compared? It cannot be described better than it is in the same book of Job. (xxxix. 5, &c.) *Who hath sent out the wild ass free? or who hath loosed the bands of the wild ass? Whose house I have made the wilderness, and the barren land his dwellings. He scorneth the multitude of the city, neither regardeth he the crying of the driver. The range of the mountains is his pasture, and he searcheth after every green thing.* Ishmael therefore and his posterity were to be wild, fierce, savage, ranging in the deserts, and not easily softened and tamed to society: and whoever hath read or known any thing of this people, knoweth this to be their true and genuin character. It is said of Ishmael, (Gen. xxi. 20.) that *he dwelt in the wilderness, and became an archer*: and the same is no less true of his descendents than of himself. *He dwelt in the wilderness;* and his sons still inhabit the same wilderness, and many of them neither sow nor plant (4) according to the best accounts ancient and modern. *And he became an archer;* and such were the Itureans, whose (5) bows and arrows are famous in all authors; such were the mighty men of Keder in Isaiah's time: (Isaiah xxi. 17.) and such the Arabs have been from the beginning, and are at this time. It was late before they admitted the use of fire-arms among them; (6) the greater part of them still are strangers to them, and still continue skilful archers.

(4) Ammianus Marcellinus. Lib. 14. Cap. 4. p. 14. Edit. Valesii Paris. 1681. Harris. Vol. 2. Book 2. Chap. 9.

(5) —Ityræos taxi torquentur in arcus. Virgil. Georg. II. 448.

[———— the Ituræan yew
Receives the bending figure of a bow.]

Itureis cursus fuit inde sagittis.

[Here Ituræan arrows winged their course.]

Lucan. VII. 230.

(6) Thevenot in Harris. Vol. 2. Book 2. Chap. 9.

His hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against him. The one is the natural, and almost necessary consequence of the other. Ishmael lived by prey and rapin in the wilderness; and his posterity have all along infested Arabia and the neighbouring countries with their robberies and incursions. They live in a state of continual war with the rest of the world, and are both robbers by land, and pirates by sea. As they have been such enemies to mankind, it is no wonder that mankind have been enemies to them again, that several attempts have been made to extirpate them; and even now as well as formerly travelers are forced to go with arms and in caravans or large companies, and to march and keep watch and guard like a little army, to defend themselves from the assaults of these free-booters, who run about in troops, and rob and plunder all whom they can by any means subdue. These robberies they also (7) justify, "by alleging the hard usage of their father "Ishmael, who being turned out of doors by Abraham "had the open plains and deserts given him by God for "his patrimony, with permission to take whatever he "could find there. And on this account they think they "may, with a safe conscience, indemnify themselves, "as well as they can, not only on the posterity of Isaac, "but also on every body else; always supposing a sort "of kindred between themselves and those they plunder. "And in relating their adventures of this kind, they "think it sufficient to change the expression, and in-"stead of *I robbed a man of such or such a thing*, to, "say, *I gained it.*"

And he shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren; shall *tabernacle,* for many of the Arabs dwell in tents, and are therefore called *Scenites.* It appears that they dwelt in tents in the wilderness so long ago as in Isaiah and Jeremiah's time; (Isaiah xiii. 20. Jer. iii. 2.) and they do the same at this day. This is very extraordinary, that *his hand should be against every man, and every*

(7) Sale's Prelim. Discourse to the Koran. Sect. 1. 30, 31. where he also quotes, Voyage dans la Palest. p. 220, &c.

man's hand against him, and yet that he should be able to *dwell in the presence of all his brethren:* but extraordinary as it was, this also hath been fulfilled both in the person of Ishmael, and in his posterity. As for Ishmael himself, the sacred historian afterwards relates (Gen. xxv. 17, 18,) that *the years of the life of Ishmael were an hundred and thirty and seven years, and he died in the presence of all his brethren.* As for his posterity, they dwelt likewise in the presence of all their brethren, Abraham's sons by Keturah, the Moabites and Ammonites descendents of Lot, the Israelites descendents of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and the Edomites, descendents of Abraham, Isaac, and Esau. And they still subsist a distinct people, and inhabit the country of their progenitors, notwithstanding the perpetual enmity between them and the rest of mankind. It may be said perhaps that the country was not worth conquering, and its barrenness was its preservation: but this is a mistake, for by all accounts, though the greater part of it be sandy and barren deserts, yet here and there are interspersed beautiful spots and fruitful valleys. One part of the country was anciently known and distinguished by the name of *Arabia the happy.* And now the proper Arabia is by the oriental writers generally divided into five provinces. Of these the chief is the province of Yaman, which, as a (8) learned writer asserts upon good authorities, "has been "famous from all antiquity for the happiness of its cli- "mate, its fertility and riches. The delightfulness and "plenty of Yaman are owing to its mountains; for all "that part which lies along the Red Sea, is a dry bar- "ren desert, in some places 10 or 12 leagues over, but "in return bounded by those mountains, which being "well watered, enjoy an almost continual spring, and "besides coffee, the peculiar produce of this country, "yield great plenty and variety of fruits, and in parti- "cular excellent corn, grapes and spices. The soil of "the other provinces is much more barren than that "of Yaman; the greater part of their territories being

(8) Sale's Prelim. Disc. ibid. p. 2, 3.

"covered with dry sands, or rising into rocks, inter-
"spersed here and there with some fruitful spots, which
"receive their greatest advantages from their water and
"palm trees." But if the country was ever so bad, one would think it should be for the interest of the neighbouring princes and states at any hazard to root out such a pestilent race of robbers: and actually it hath several times been attempted, but never accomplished. They have from first to last maintained their independency, and notwithstanding the most powerful efforts for their destruction, still dwell in the presence of all their brethren, and in the presence of all their enemies.

We find that in the time of Moses, they were grown up into *twelve princes according to their nations;* (Gen. xxv. 16.) *and they dwelt* (saith Moses, ver. 18.) *from Havilah unto Shur, that is before Egypt, as thou goest towards Assyria:* but yet we do not find that they were ever subject to either of their powerful neighbours, the Egyptians or Assyrians. The conquests of Sesostris, the great king of Egypt are much magnified by Diodorus Siculus; and probably he might subdue some of the western provinces of Arabia bordering upon Egypt, but he was obliged, as (9) Diodorus informs us, to draw a line from Heliopolis to Pelusium, to secure Egypt from the incursions of the Arabs. They were therefore not subjects, but enemies to the Egyptians; as they were likewise to the Assyrians; for they assisted (1) Belesis and Arbaces in overturning that empire, assisted them not as fellow-rebels, but as an independent state with their auxiliary forces.

The next great conquerors of the east were Cyrus and the Persians; but neither he nor any of his successors ever reduced the whole body of the Arabs to subjection. They might conquer some of the exterior, but never reached the interior parts of the country: and Herodotus, (2) the historian who lived nearest to those

(9) Diod. Sic. Lib. 1. p. 36. Edit. Stephan. p. 52. Edit. Rhodomani.

(1) Diod. Sic. Lib. 2. p. 79. Edit. Steph. p. 111. Edit. Rhod.

(2) Αραβιοι δε ȣδαμα κατηκȣσαν επι δȣλουσυνη Περσησι, αλλα ξεινοι εγενοντο, παρεντες Καμβυσεα ἐπ' Αιγυπτον. αεκοντων γαρ Αραβιων, ȣκ αν εσβαλλοιεν

times, saith expressly, that the Arabs were never reduced by the Persians to the condition of subjects, but were considered by them as friends, and opened to them a passage into Egypt, which without the assistance and permission of the Arabs would have been utterly impracticable; and in (3) another place he saith, that while Phœnicia, Palestine, Syria, and the neighbouring countries were taxed, the Arabian territories continued free from paying any tribute. They were then regarded as friends, but afterwards they assisted with their forces. (4) Amyrtæus king of Egypt against Darius Nothus, and (5) Euagoras king of Cyprus against Artaxerxes Mnemon; so that they acted as friends or enemies to the Persians, just as they thought proper, and as it suited their humor or their interest.

Alexander the great then overturned the Persian empire, and conquered Asia. The neighbouring princes sent their embassadors to make their submissions. The (6) Arabs alone disdained to acknowlege the conqueror, and scorned to send any embassy, or to take any notice of him. This slight provoked him to such a degree, that he meditated an expedition against them; and the great preparations which he made for it, showed that he thought them a very formidable enemy: but death intervened, and put an end to all that his ambition or resentment had formed against them. Thus they happily escaped the fury of his arms, and were never subdued

Περσαι εις Αιγυπτον. Arabes nunquam a Persis in servitutem redacti sunt, sed hospites extiterunt; quum Cambysi aditum in Ægyptum permisissent: quibus invitis haudquaquam fuissent ingressi Persæ Ægyptum. [The Arabians were never reduced by the Persians to the condition of subjects, but were on hospitable terms with them, when they permitted Cambyses to pass into Ægypt. For the Persians never could have made an inroad into Egypt, had the Arabians been unwilling.] Herod. Lib. 3. Sect. 88. p. 189. Edit. Gale.

(3) Ibid. Sect. 91. p. 199.——πλην μοιρης της Αραβιων (ταυτα γαρ ην ατελια)————præter Arabum partem (hæc enim erat immunis.) [Except the territory of the Arabians, for this was exempt from tribute.]

(4) Diodorus Siculus. Lib. 13. p. 355. Edit. Stephani. Tom. 2. p. 172. Edit. Rhodomani. Prideaux Connect. Part 1. B. 6. Anno 410.

(5) Diodorus Siculus. Lib. 15. p. 459. Edit. Stephani. Tom. 2. p. 328. Edit. Rhodomani. Prideaux Connect. Part 1. B. 7. Anno 386.

(6) Strabo. Lib. 16. p. 1076. & 1132. Edit. Amstel. 1707. Arrian. Lib. 7. p. 300. Edit. Gronovii.

by any of his successors. Antigonus, one of the greatest of his successors, (7) made two attempts upon them, one by his general Athenæus, and the other by his own son Demetrius, but both without success; the former was defeated, and the latter was glad to make peace with them, and leave them at their liberty. Neither would they suffer the people employed by Antigonus, to gather the bitumen on the lake Asphaltites, whereby he hoped greatly to increase his revenue. The Arabs fiercely attacked the workmen and the guards, and forced them to desist from their undertaking. So true is the assertion of (8) Diodorus, that "neither "the Assyrians formerly, nor the kings of the Medes "and Persians, nor yet of the Macedonians, were able "to subdue them; nay though they led many and great "forces against them, yet they could not accomplish "their attempts." We find them afterwards sometimes at peace, and sometimes at war with the neighbouring states; sometimes joining the Syrians, and sometimes the Egyptians; sometimes assisting the Jews, and sometimes plundering them; and in all respects acting like a free people, who neither feared nor courted any foreign power whatever.

The Romans then invaded the east, and subdued the countries adjoining, but were never able to reduce Arabia into the form of a Roman province. It is too common with historians to say that such or such a country was conquered, when perhaps only a part of it was so. It is thus that (9) Plutarch asserts that the Arabs submitted to Lucullus; whereas the most that we can believe is, that he might subdue some particular tribes; but he was recalled, and the command of the Roman

(7) Diodorus Siculus. Lib. 19. p. 272. &c. Edit. Stephani. Tom. 2. p. 730. Edit. Rhodomani.

(8) οὔθ' οἱ Ασσυριοι το παλαιον, οὔθ' οἱ Μηδων και Περσων ετι δε Μακεδονων βασιλεις ηδυνηθησαν αὐτους καταδουλωσασθαι, πολλας μεν και μεγαλας δυναμεις επ' αυτους αγαγοντες, ουδεποτε δε τας επιβολας συντελεσαντες. nec Assyrii olim, nec Medi ac Persæ, imo nec Macedonum reges subigere illos potuere; qui licet magnis in eos copiis moverint, nunquam tamen incepta ad finem perduxere. Diod. Sic. Lib. 2. p. 92. Edit. Steph. p. 131. Edit. Rhod. [Translated in the text.]

(9) Plutarch in Lucullo passim.

army in Asia was given to Pompey. Pompey, though he triumphed over the three parts of the world, could not yet conquer Arabia. He (1) carried his arms into the country, obtained some victories, and compelled Aretas to submit; but other affairs soon obliged him to retire, and by retiring he lost all the advantages which he had gained. His forces were no sooner withdrawn, than the Arabs made their incursions again into the Roman provinces. Ælius Gallus in the reign of Augustus (2) penetrated far into the country, but a strange distemper made terrible havoc in his army, and after two years spent in this unfortunate expedition, he was glad to escape with the small remainder of his forces. The emperor Trajan reduced some parts of Arabia, but he could never subdue it entirely: and when he besieged the city of the Hagarenes, as (3) Dion says, his soldiers were repelled by lightnings, thunderings, hail, whirlwinds and other prodigies, and were constantly so repelled, as often as they renewed their assaults. At the same time great swarms of flies infested his camp; so that he was forced at last to raise the siege, and retired with disgrace into his own dominions. About eighty years after the emperor Severus twice besieged the same city with a numerous army and a train of military engins; but he had no better success than Trajan. God,

(1) Plutarch in Pompeio, p. 640. &c. Edit. Paris. 1624.

(2) Strabo, Lib. 16. p. 1126. Edit. Amstel. 1707. Dion. Cassius. Lib. 53. p. 516. Edit. Leunclav. Hanov. 1606. Dion. calls him by mistake Ælius Largus.

(3) εγενοντο δε βρονται, και ιριδες υπεφαινοντο, αστραπαι τε και ζαλη χαλαζα και κεραυνοι τοις Ρωμαικοις επεπιπτον, οποτε προσβαλοιεν. και οποτε εν δειπνοιεν, μυιαι τοις βρωμασι και τοις ποσι προσιζανουσαι, δυσχερειας απαντα επεπιμπλων. και Τραϊανος μεν εκειθεν ουτως απηλθε. Ibi cœlum tonitru contremuit, irides visæ sunt, fulgura, procellæ grando, fulmina in Romanos cadebant, quoties in illos impetum facerent; quotiesque cœnarent, muscæ tam esculentis quam potulentis insidentes, cuncta nausea quadam implebant. Itaque Trajanus Inde proficiscitur. Dionis Hist. Lib. 68. p. 785. Edit. Leunclav. Hanov. 1606. [There were thunderings. The rainbow appeared. Flashes of lightning, furious storms, hail and thunderbolts assailed the Romans as often as they attacked them. As often too as they provided a meal, great swarms of flies sending forth a dreadful stench, perched on their meats and drinks. For these reasons Trajan retired from thence. See Dion's History, Book lxviii. p. 785. in Leunclavius' Edit. printed at Hanover, 1606.]

(4) says the heathen historian, preserved the city by the backwardness of the emperor at one time, and by that of his forces at another. He made some assaults but was baffled and defeated, and returned with precipitation as great as his vexation for his disappointment. And if such great emperors and able warriors as Trajan and Severus could not succeed in their attempts, it is no wonder that the following emperors could prevail nothing. The Arabs continued their incursions and depredations, in Syria and other Roman provinces, with equal license and impunity.

Such was the state and condition of the Arabs to the time of their famous prophet Mohammed, who laid the foundations of a mighty empire: and then for several centuries they were better known among the European nations by the name of the *Sarraceni* or *Saracens*, the *Arraceni* (5) of Pliny, and the (6) *Hagarenes* of holy scripture. Their conquests were indeed amazingly rapid; they can be compared to nothing more properly than to a sudden flood or inundation. In a few years the Saracens over-ran more countries, and subdued more people than the Romans did in several centuries. They were then not only free and independent of the rest of the world, but were themselves masters of the most considerable parts of the earth. And so they continued for (7) about three centuries; and after their empire was

(4) *και ὑτω θεος ὁ ῥυσαμενος την πολιν, τυς μεν στρατιωτας δυνηθεντας αν εις αυτην εισελθειν, δια τυ Σεβηρυ ανεκαλεσε, καιτον Σεβηρον αυ βυληθεντα αυτην μετα τυτο λαβειν, δια των στρατιωτων εκωλυσεν.* Itaque Deus urbem liberavit, qui per Severum revocavit milites, quum possent in ipsam ingredi; et Severum cupientem eandem postea capere, per milites prohibuit. Ibid. Lib. 75. p. 855. [And thus God delivered the city (of the Hagarenes,) by the emperor Severus recalling his soldiers, at a time, when they had it in their power to take it, and afterwards, when he was desirous of possessing it, he was hindered by the obstinacy of his soldiers. See the same, Book lxxv. p. 855.]

(5) Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. 6. Cap. 32. ubi vide notam Harduini. [Where see the note of Harduin.]

(6) *Hagarenes*, the descendents of Ishmael. They are also called Ishmaelites and Saracens, &c. Calmet's Dict.

(7) The Saracens began their conquests A. D. 622. and to reign at Damascus A. D. 637. Their empire was broken and divided A. D. 936. See Dr. Blair's Chronol. Tables. Tab. 33 and 39. and Sir Isaac Newton on the Apocalypse, Chap. 3. p. 304, 305.

dissolved, and they were reduced within the limits of their native country, they still maintained their liberty against the Tartars, Mamelucs, Turks, and all foreign enemies whatever. Whoever were the conquerors of Asia, they were still unconquered, still continued their incursions, and preyed upon all alike. The Turks have now for several centuries been lords of the adjacent countries; but they have been so little able to restrain the depredations of the Arabs, that they have been (8) obliged to pay them a sort of annual tribute for the safe passage and security of the pilgrims, who usually go in great companies to Mecca, so that the Turks have rather been dependent upon them, than they upon the Turks. And they still continue the same practices, and preserve the same superiority, if we may believe the concurrent testimony of modern travellers of all nations.

Two of our own nation have lately traveled into those parts, and have written and published their travels, both men of litterature, both reverend divines, and writers of credit and character, Dr. Shaw and Bishop Pococke; and in several instances they confirm the account that we have given of this people. "With regard to the manners and customs of the Bedoweens, saith (9) Dr. "Shaw, it is to be observed that they retain a great "many of those we read of in sacred as well as profane "history; being, if we except their religion, the same "people they were two or three thousand years ago; "without ever embracing any of those novelties in dress "or behaviour, which have had so many periods and "revolutions in the Moorish and Turkish cities." And after giving some account of their hospitality, he proceeds thus; "Yet the outward behaviour of the Arab "frequently gives the lie to his inward temper and inclination. For he is naturally thievish and treacherous; and it sometimes happens that those very persons are overtaken and pillaged in the morning, who "were entertained the night before, with all the in-

(8) See Thevenot in Harris, Vol. 2. Book 2. Chap. 9. and Demetrius Cantemir's Hist. of the Othman empire in Ahmed. II. p. 393.

(9) Shaw's Travels, p. 300, &c.

" stances of friendship and hospitality. Neither are " they to be accused for plundering strangers only, and " attacking almost every person, whom they find un- " armed and defenceless, but for those many implacable " and hereditary animosities, which continually subsist " among them, litterally fulfilling to this day the pro- " phecy, *that Ishmael should be a wild man; his hand* " *should be against every man, and every man's hand* " *against him,*" Dr. Shaw himself (1) was robbed and plundered by a party of Arabs in his journey from Ramah to Jerusalem, though he was escorted by four bands of Turkish soldiers: and yet the Turks at the same time paid a stipulated sum to the Arabs, in order to secure a safe passage for their caravans: and there cannot surely be a stronger proof, not only of the independency of the Arabs, but even of their superiority, not only of their enjoying their liberty, but even of their abusing it to licentiousness. Bishop Pococke was the last who traveled into those parts; and he hath informed us, that the present inhabitants of Arabia resemble the ancient in several respects; that (2) they live under tents, and stay in one place as long as they have water and shrubs and trees for their camels to feed on, for there is no tillage nor grass in all this country; that all their riches consist in camels, a few goats, and sometimes sheep, so that they live in great poverty, having nothing but a few dates and a little goats milk, and bring all their corn eight or ten days journey from Cairo; that they are in different nations or clans, each obeying the orders of its great chief, and every incampment those of its particular chief; and tho' seemingly divided, yet they are all united in a sort of league together; that they (3) love plunder, and the roving sort of life this disposition leads them to, have good horses, and manage them and their pikes with much address; those on foot use poles, with which they fence off the spear, with great art. So that authors both sacred and profane, Jewish and Arabian, Greek

(1) Preface to his Travels, p. vii.
(2) Pococke's Description of the East, Vol. 1. Book 3. Chap. 2.
(3) Book 4. Chap. 4.

and Roman, Christian and Mohammedan, ancient and modern, all agree in the same account: and if any are desirous of seeing the matter deduced more at large, they may be referred to a dissertation upon the independency of the Arabs by the learned authors of the Universal History.

An author, who hath lately published an account of Persia, having occasion to speak of the Arabians, (4) says, "their expertness in the use of the lance and sabre, "renders them fierce and intrepid. Their skill in horse-"manship, and their capacity of bearing the heat of "their burning plains, gives them also a superiority over "their enemies. Hence every petty chief in his own "district considers himself as a sovran prince, and as "such exacts customs from all passengers. Their con-"duct in this respect has often occasioned their being "considered in no better light than robbers, &c. They "generally marry within their own tribe, &c. When "they plunder caravans traveling thro' their territories, "they consider it as reprisals on the Turks and Persians, "who often make inroads into their country, and carry "away their corn and their flocks."

Who can fairly consider and lay all these particulars together, and not perceive the hand of God in this whole affair from the beginning to the end? The sacred historian saith, that these prophecies concerning Ishmael were delivered partly by the angel of the Lord, and partly by God himself; and indeed who but God, or one raised and commissioned by him, could describe so particularly the genius and manners, not only of a single person before he was born, but of a whole people from the first founder of the race to the present time? It was somewhat wonderful, and not to be foreseen by human sagacity or prudence, that a man's whole posterity should so nearly resemble him, and retain the same inclinations, the same habits, the same customs throughout all ages. The waters of the purest spring or fountain are soon changed and polluted in their course; and the farther still they flow, the more they are incorporated and lost

(4) Hanway's Travels, Vol. 4. Part 5. Chap. 29. p. 221, &c.

in other waters. How have the modern Italians degenerated from the courage and virtues of the old Romans? How are the French and English polished and refined from the barbarism of the ancient Gauls and Britons? Men and manners change with times; but in all changes and revolutions the Arabs have still continued the same with little or no alteration. And yet it cannot be said of them, as of some barbarous nations, that they have had no commerce or intercourse with the rest of mankind; for by their conquests they overran a great part of the earth, and for some centuries were masters of most of the learning that was then in the world: but however they remained and still remain the same fierce savage intractable people, like their great ancestor in every thing, and different from most of the world besides. Ishmael was circumcised; and so are his posterity to this day; and as Ishmael was circumcised when he was thirteen years old, so were the Arabs at the same age according to (5) Josephus. He was born of Hagar, who was a concubine; and they still indulge themselves in the use of mercenary wives and concubines. He lived in tents in the wilderness, shifting from place to place; and so do his descendents, particularly those therefore called (6) Scenites formerly, and those called Bedoweens at this day. He was an archer in the wilderness; and so are they. He was to be the father of twelve princes or heads of tribes; and they live in clans or tribes at this day. He was a wild man, his hand against every man, and every man's hand against him: and they live in the same state of war, their hand against every man, and every man's hand against them.

This, I say, is somewhat wonderful, that the same people should retain the same dispositions for so many ages; but it is still more wonderful, that with these dispositions, and this enmity to the whole world, they should still subsist in spite of the world an independent

(5) Antiq. Lib. 1. Cap. 12. Sect. 2. p. 29. Edit. Hudson. Vide etiam Pocockii Specimen Hist. Arab. p. 319.

(6) Scenitæ—vagi—a tabernaculis [απο των σκηνων] cognominati. Plin. Lib. 6. Cap. 28. Sect. 32. Edit. Harduin. Pocockii Specimen Hist. Arab. p. 87. [Scenites—wanderers, so called from their tents.]

and free people. It cannot be pretended, that no probable attempts were ever made to conquer them; for the greatest conquerors in the world have almost all in their turns attempted it, and some of them have been very near effecting it. It cannot be pretended that the dryness or inaccessibleness of their country hath been their preservation; for their country hath been often penetrated, tho' never entirely subdued. I know that (7) Diodorus Siculus accounts for their preservation from the dryness of their country, that they have wells digged in proper places known only to themselves, and their enemies and invaders through ignorance of these places perish for want of water: but this account is far from being an adequate and just representation of the case; large armies have found the means of subsistence in their country; none of their powerful invaders ever desisted on this account; and therefore that they have not been conquered, we must impute to some other cause. When in all human probability they were upon the brink of ruin, then (as we have before seen at large) they were signally and providentially delivered. Alexander was preparing an expedition against them, when an inflammatory fever cut him off in the flower of his age. Pompey was in the career of his conquests, when urgent affairs called him elsewhere. Ælius Gallus had penetrated far into the country, when a fatal disease destroyed great numbers of his men, and obliged him to return. Trajan besieged their capital city, but was defeated by thunder and lightning, whirlwinds and other prodigies, and that as often as he renewed his assaults. Severus besieged the same city twice, and was twice repelled from before it; and the historian Dion, a man of rank and character, though an heathen, plainly ascribes the defeat of these two emperors to the interposition of a divine power. We who know the prophecies, may be more assured of the reality of a divine interposition; and indeed otherwise how could a single nation stand out against the enmity of the whole world for any length of

(7) Diodorus Siculus. Lib. 2. p. 92. Edit. Stephani. p. 131. Edit. Rhodomani. et Lib. 19. p. 722. Edit. Steph. p. 730. Edit. Rhod.

time, and much more for near 4000 years together? The great empires round them have all in their turns fallen to ruin, while they have continued the same from the beginning, and are likely to continue the same to the end: and this in the natural course of human affairs was so highly improbable, if not altogether impossible, that as nothing but a divine prescience could have foreseen it, so nothing but a divine power could have accomplished it.

These are the only people besides the Jews, who have subsisted as a distinct people from the beginning; and in some respects they very much resemble each other. The Arabs as well as the Jews are descended from Abraham, and both boast of their descent from that father of the faithful. The Arabs as well as the Jews are circumcised, and both profess to have derived that ceremony from Abraham. The Arabs as well as the Jews had originally twelve patriarchs or heads of tribes, who were their princes or governors. The Arabs as well as the Jews marry among themselves and in their own tribes. The Arabs as well as the Jews are singular in several of their customs, and are standing monuments to all ages, of the exactness of the divine predictions, and of the veracity of scripture-history. We may with more confidence believe the particulars related of Abraham and Ishmael, when we see them verified in their posterity at this day. This is having as it were ocular demonstration for our faith. This is proving by plain matter of fact, that *the most High ruleth in the kingdoms of men,* and that his truth, as well as his *mercy, endureth for ever.*

III.

THE PROPHECIES CONCERNING JACOB AND ESAU.

AS it pleased God to disclose unto Abraham the state and condition of his posterity by Ishmael, who was the

son of the bond-woman: it might be with reason expected, that something should be predicted concerning his posterity also by Isaac, who was the son of a free-woman. He was properly the child of promise, and the prophecies relating to him and his family are much more numerous than those relating to Ishmael: but we will select and enlarge upon such only, as have reference to these later ages.

It was promised to Abraham before Ishmael or any son was born to him, (Gen. xii. 3.) *In thee shall all families of the earth be blessed.* But after the birth of Ishmael and Isaac, the promise was limited to Isaac, (Gen. xxi. 12.) *for in Isaac shall thy seed be called.* And accordingly to Isaac was the promise repeated, (Gen. xxvi. 4.) *In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed.* The Saviour of the world therefore was not to come of the family of Ishmael, but of the family of Isaac; which is an argument for the truth of the Christian religion in preference to the Mohammedan, drawn from an old prophecy and promise made two thousand years before Christ, and much more before Mohammed was born.

The land of Canaan was promised to Abraham and his seed four hundred years before they took possession of it. (Gen. xv.) It was promised again to Isaac, (Gen. xxvi. 3.) *Sojourn in this land, and I will be with thee, and will bless thee; for unto thee and unto thy seed I will give all these countries, and I will perform the oath which I sware unto Abraham thy father.* Now it is very well known, that it was not till after the death of Moses, who wrote these things, that the Israelites gat possession of the land under the command of Joshua. They remained in possession of it several ages in pursuance of these prophecies: and afterwards, when for their sins and iniquities they were to be removed from it, their removal also was foretold, both the carrying away of the ten tribes, and the captivity of the two remaining tribes for seventy years, and likewise their final captivity and dispersion into all nations, till in the fulness of time they shall be restored again to the land of their inheritance.

It was foretold to Abraham that his posterity should be multiplied exceedingly above that of others; (Gen. xii. 2.) *I will make of thee a great nation;* and (xxii. 17.) *in blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thy seed as the stars of heaven, and as the sand which is upon the sea-shore.* The same promise was continued to Isaac, (Gen. xxvi. 4.) *I will make thy seed to multiply as the stars of heaven.* And not to mention the vast increase of their other posterity, how soon did their descendents by Jacob grow up into a mighty nation? and how numerous were they formerly in the land of Canaan? how numerous were they in other parts of the world according to the accounts of Philo and Josephus? and after the innumerable massacres and persecutions which they have undergone, how numerous are they still in their present dispersion among all nations? It is computed that there are as many Jews now, or more than ever there were, since they have been a nation. A learned (1) foreigner, who hath written a history of the Jews, as a supplement and continuation of the history of Josephus, says that "it is impossible to "fix the number of persons this nation is at present "composed of. But yet we have reason to believe, "there are still near three millions of people, who profess "this religion, and as their phrase is, *are witnesses of "the unity of God in all the nations of the world.*" And who could foretel such a wonderful increase and propagation of a branch only of one man's family, but the same divine power that could effect it?

But Isaac had two sons, whose families did not grow up and incorporate into one people, but were separated into two different nations: and therefore, as it had been necessary before to specify whether Ishmael or Isaac was to be heir of the promises, so there was a necessity for the same distinction now between Esau and Jacob. Accordingly, when their mother had conceived, *the children struggled together within her;* (Gen. xxv. 22.) and it was revealed unto her by the Lord, (ver. 23.) *Two nations are in thy womb, and two manner of people shall*

(1) See Basnage's History of the Jews, Book 7. Chap. 33. Sect. 15.

be separated from thy bowels; and the one people shall be stronger than the other people, and the elder shall serve the younger. The same divine Spirit influenced and directed their father to give his final benediction to the same purpose: for thus he blessed Jacob, (Gen. xxvii. 28, 29.) *God give thee of the dew of heaven, and the fatness of the earth, and plenty of corn and wine. Let people serve thee, and nations bow down to thee; be lord over thy brethren, and let thy mother's sons bow down to thee; cursed be every one that curseth thee, and blessed be he that blesseth thee:* and thus he blessed Esau, (ver. 39, 40.) *Behold, thy dwelling shall be the fatness of the earth, and of the dew of heaven from above. And by thy sword shalt thou live; and shalt serve thy brother; and it shall come to pass when thou shalt have the dominion, that thou shalt break his yoke from off thy neck.* But for greater clearness and certainty a more express revelation was afterwards made to Jacob; and the land of Canaan, a numerous progeny, and the blessing of all nations, were promised to him in particular, (Gen xxviii 13, 14.) *I am the Lord God of Abraham thy father, and the God of Israël: the land whereon thou liest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed. And thy seed shall be as the dust of the earth; and thou shalt spread abroad to the west, and to the east, and to the north and to the south; and in thee, and in thy seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed.*

We have here a farther and more ample proof of what was asserted before, that these ancient prophecies were meant not so much of single persons, as of whole people and nations descended from them. For what is here predicted concerning Esau and Jacob was not verified in themselves, but in their posterity. Jacob was so far from bearing rule over Esau, that he was forced to fly his country for fear of Esau, (Gen. xxvii.) He continued abroad several years; and when he returned to his native country, he sent a supplicatory message to his brother Esau, (Gen. xxxii. 5.) *that he might find grace in his sight.* When he heard of Esau's coming to meet him with four hundred men, he *was greatly afraid and distressed,* (ver. 7.) and cryed unto the Lord, (ver. 11.)

Deliver me, I pray thee, from the hand of my brother, from the hand of Esau. He sent a magnificent present before him to appease his brother, calling Esau his *lord,* and himself Esau's *servant.* (ver. 18.) When he met him, he *bowed himself to the ground seven times, until he came near to his brother.* (Gen. xxxiii. 3.) And after he had found a gracious reception, he acknowledged (ver. 10.) *I have seen thy face, as though I had seen the face of God, and thou wast pleased with me.* Jacob then had no temporal superiority over Esau; and therefore we must look for the completion of the prophecy among their posterity. The prophecy itself refers us thither, and mentions plainly *two nations* and *two manner of people,* and comprehends these several particulars; that the families of Esau and Jacob should grow up into two different people and nations; that the family of the elder should be subject to that of the younger; that in situation and other temporal advantages they should be much alike: that the elder branch should delight more in war and violence, but yet should be subdued by the younger; that however there should be a time when the elder should have dominion, and shake off the yoke of the younger; but in all spiritual gifts and graces the younger should be greatly superior, and be the happy instrument of conveying the blessing to all nations.

1. The families of Esau and Jacob should grow up into two different people and nations. *Two nations are in thy womb, and two manner of people shall be separated from thy bowels.* The Edomites were the offspring of Esau, as the Israelites were of Jacob; and who but the author and giver of life could foresee, that two children in the womb would multiply into two nations? Jacob had twelve sons, and their descendents all united and incorporated into one nation: and what an overruling providence then was it, that two nations should arise from the two sons only of Isaac? But they were not only to grow up into two nations, but into two very different nations, *and two manner of people* were to be *separated* from her bowels. And have not the Edomites and Israelites been all along two very different people in their

manners and customs and religions, which made them to be perpetually at variance one with another? The children *struggled together* in the womb, which was an omen and token of their future disagreement: and when they were grown up to manhood they manifested very different inclinations. Esau was *a cunning hunter,* and delighted in the sports of the field: Jacob was more mild and gentle, *dwelling in tents,* and minding his sheep and his cattle. (Gen xxv. 27.) Our English translation, agreeably to the (2) Septuagint and the Vulgate, hath it that Jacob was *a plain man;* but he appears from his whole conduct and behaviour to have been rather an *artful* than a *plain* man. The (3) word in the original signifies *perfect,* which is a general term: but being put in opposition to the *rough* and *rustic* manners of Esau, it must particularly import that Jacob was more *humane* and *gentle,* as (4) Philo the Jew understands it, and as Le Clerc translates it. Esau slighted his birth-right and those sacred privileges of which Jacob was desirous, and is therefore called (Hebr. xii. 16.) the *profane* Esau: but Jacob was a man of better faith and religion. The like diversity ran through their posterity. The religion of the Jews is very well known; but whatever the Edomites were at first, in process of time they became idolaters. Josephus (5) mentions an Idumean deity named Kozé: and Amaziah king of Judah, after he had overthrown the Edomites, (2 Chron. xxiv. 14.) *brought their gods, and set them up to be his gods, and bowed down himself before them, and burned incense unto them;* which was monstrously absurd, as the prophet remonstrates, (ver. 15.) *Why hast thou sought after the gods of the people, which could not deliver their own people out of*

(2.) απλαστος, Sept. simplex, Vulg. [Plain, simple, or without deceit.]

(3.) תם Integer, perfectus. Integer, Syr. Samar. Perfectus. Onk. Perfectus virtutibus. Arab. [Entire or perfect. In the Syriac and Samaritan, this word is rendered entire, by Onkelos it is translated perfect, and in the Arabic, perfect in virtues.]

(4.) Vide Clericum in locum. *Jacobus vero mitis, &c.* [See Le Clerc on the passage. "Jacob truly was mild, meek, or gentle."]

(5) —Κοζε· θεον δε τουτον Ιδουμαιοι νομιζουσιν. Coze; quem Deum existimant Idumæi. [Koze, whom the Edomites consider as a divinity.] Antiq. Lib. 15. Cap. 7. Sect. 9. p. 686. Edit. Hudson.

thine hand? Upon these religious differences and other accounts there was a continual grudge and enmity between the two nations. The king of Edom would not suffer the Israelites in their return out of Egypt, so much as to pass thro' his territories: (Numb. xx.) and the history of the Edomites afterwards is little more than the history of their wars with the Jews.

II. The family of the elder should be subject to that of the younger. *And the one people shall be stronger than the other people, and the elder shall serve the younger,* or as the words may be rendered, *the greater shall serve the lesser.* The family of Esau was the elder, and for some time the greater and more powerful of the two, there having been dukes and kings in Edom, *before there reigned any king over the children of Israel.* (Gen. xxxvi. 31.) But David and his captains made an entire conquest of the Edomites, slew several thousands of them, (1 Kings xi. 16. and 1 Chron. xviii. 12.) and compelled the rest to become his tributaries and servants, and planted garrisons among them to secure their obedience. (2 Sam. viii. 14.) *And he put garrisons in Edom; throughout all Edom put he garrisons, and all they of Edom became David's servants.* In this state of servitude they continued about (6) an hundred and fifty years without a king of their own, being governed by viceroys or deputies appointed by the kings of Judah. In the reign of Jehoshaphat king of Judah it is said, that *there was then no king in Edom; a deputy was king.* (1 Kings xxii. 47.) But in the days of Jehoram his son, they revolted, and recovered their liberties, *and made a king over themselves.* (2 Kings viii. 20.) But afterwards Amaziah king of Judah *slew of Edom in the valley of salt ten thousand, and took Selah by war, and called the name of it Joktheel unto this day,* says the sacred historian. (2 Kings xiv. 7.) *And other ten thousand left alive, did the children of Judah carry away captive, and brought them unto the top of the rock,* whereon Selah was built, *and cast*

(6) From about the year of the world 2960 before Christ 1044 to about the year of the world 3115 before Christ 899. See Usher's Annals.

them down from the top of the rock, that they were broken all in pieces. (2 Chron. xxv. 12.) His son Azariah or Uzziah likewise took from them Elah, that commodious haven on the Red Sea, and fortified it anew, *and restored it to Judah.* (2 Kings xiv. 22. 2 Chron. xxvi. 2.) Judas Maccabæus attacked and defeated them several times, *killed no fewer than twenty thousand at* one time, and *more than twenty thousand at* another, and took their chief city Hebron, *and the towns thereof, and pulled down the fortress of it, and burned the towers thereof round about.* (1 Macc. v. 2 Macc. x.) At last his nephew, (7) Hyrcanus the Son of Simon, took others of their cities, and reduced them to the necessity of embracing the Jewish religion, or of leaving their country and seeking new habitations elsewhere, whereupon they submitted to be circumcised, and became proselytes to the Jewish religion, and ever after were incorporated into the Jewish church and nation.

III. In situation and other temporal advantages they should be much alike. For it was said to Jacob, *God give thee of the dew of heaven, and of the fatness of the earth, and plenty of corn and wine:* and much the same is said to Esau, *Behold thy dwelling shall be of the fatness of the earth, and of the dew of heaven from above.* In this manner the latter clause is translated in (8) Jerome's and the old versions: but some modern commentators, ((9) Castalio, le Clerc, &c.) render it otherwise, that his dwelling should be *far from the fatness of the earth, and from the dew of heaven:* and they say that Idumea, the country of the Edomites, was a dry, barren, and desert country. But it is not probable, that any good

(7) Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 13. Cap. 9. Sect. 1. p. 584. Edit. Hudson.

(8) In pinguedine terræ, et in rore cœli desuper. [In the fatness of the earth, and in the dew of heaven from above.]

(9) A terræ pinguitudine aberit. Cast. [He shall be at a distance from the fatness of the earth. See Castalio.] A pinguedine quidem terræ remota erit sedes tua, neque rore cœli fecundabitur.——Nec sane Idumæa fecunda aut pingui solo, aut tempestivis pluviis rigata fuit. Clericus in l. cum. [Thy habitation shall be remote indeed from the fatness of the earth, nor shall it be fertilized by the dew of heaven—And truly, the land of Edom was not rich, fertile, or well watered. See Le Clerc on the passage.]

author should use the (1) very same words with the very same præpositions in one sense, and within a few lines after in a quite contrary sense. Besides Esau solicited for a blessing; and the author of the epistle to the Hebrews saith (xi. 20.) that *Isaac blessed Jacob and Esau;* whereas had he consigned Esau to such a barren and wretched country, it would have been a curse rather than a blessing. The spiritual blessing indeed, or the promise of the blessed seed could be given only to one; but temporal good things might be communicated and imparted to both. Mount Seir and the adjacent country was at first the possession of the Edomites; they afterwards extended themselves farther into Arabia; as they did afterwards into the southern parts of Judea. But wherever they were situated, we find in fact that the Edomites in temporal advantages were little inferior to the Israelites. Esau had *cattle,* and *beasts,* and *substance* in abundance, and he went to dwell in Seir of his own accord, and he would hardly have removed thither with so many cattle, had it been such a barren and desolate country, as some would represent it. (Gen. xxxiv. 6, 7, 8.) The Edomites had dukes and kings reigning over them, while the Israelites were slaves in Egypt. In their return out of Egypt when the Israelites desired leave to pass thro' the territories of Edom, it appears that the country abounded with fruitful fields and vineyards; *Let us pass, I pray thee, thro' thy country; we will not pass thro' the fields, or thro' the vineyards, neither will we drink of the water of the wells.* (Numb. xx. 17.) And the prophecy of Malachi, (i. 2.) which is commonly alleged as a proof of the barrenness of the country, is rather an argument to the contrary: *And I hated Esau, and laid his mountains and his heritage waste, for the dragons of the wilderness:* for this implies that the country was fruitful before, and that its present unfruitfulness was

(1) Ver. 28. מטל השמים ומשמני הארץ
rore de. cœli terræ pinguedinibus de et,
dew the of heaven of and, fatness the of earth the of

Ver 39. משמני הארץ ומטל השמים מעל
pinguedinibus de terræ et, rore de cœli desuper
fatness the of earth the of and, dew of heaven of from above

rather an effect of war and devastation, than any natural defect and failure in the soil. If the country is barren and unfruitful now, so neither is Judea what it was formerly. The face of any country is much changed in a long course of years, and it is totally a different thing, when a country is regularly cultivated by inhabitants living under a settled government, than when tyranny prevails, and the land is left desolate. It is also frequently seen that God, as the Psalmist saith, (cvii. 34.) *turneth a fruitful land into barrenness for the wickedness of them that dwell therein.*

IV. The elder branch should delight more in war and violence, but yet should be subdued by the younger. *And by thy sword shalt thou live, and shalt serve thy brother.* Esau himself might be said to live much by the sword, for he *was a cunning hunter, a man of the field.* (Gen. xxv. 27.) He and his children gat possession of mount Seir by force and violence, by destroying and expelling from thence the Horites, the former inhabitants. (Deut. ii. 22.) We have no account, and therefore cannot pretend to say, by what means they spread themselves farther among the Arabians; but it (2) appears, that upon a sedition and separation several of the Edomites came, and seised upon the south-west parts of Judea during the Babylonish captivity, and settled there ever afterwards. Both before and after this they were almost continually at war with the Jews; upon every occasion they were ready to join with their enemies: and when Nebuchadnezzar besieged Jerusalem, they encouraged him utterly to destroy the city, saying *Rase it, rase it, even to the foundation thereof.* (Psal. cxxxvii. 7.) Even long after they were subdued by the Jews, they still retained the same martial spirit, for (3) Josephus in his time

(2) Strabo. Lib. 16. p. 1103. Edit. Amstel. 1707. Prideaux Connect. Part 1. Book 1. Ann. 740.

(3) ἅτε θορυβωδες και αἰακτον εθνος, αει τε μετεωρον προς τα κινηματα, και μεταβολαις χαιρον, προς ολιγην δη κολακειαν των δεομενων τα ὁπλα κινων, και καθαπερ εις ἑορτην εις τας παραταξεις επειγομενον. Utpote gentem tumultuosam et ordinis impatientem, ad motus intentam semper et mutationibus gaudentem, ad modicam vero eorum qui supplicant adulationem arma moventem, et ad prælia quasi ad festum properantem. [Translated in the text.] De Bell. Jud. Lib. 4. Cap. 4. Sect. 1. p. 1177. Edit. Hudson. See too the following chapter.

giveth them the character of 'a turbulent and disorderly 'nation, always erect to commotions and rejoicing in 'changes, at the least adulation of those who beseech 'them beginning war, and hastening to battles as it 'were to a feast.' Agreeably to this character, a little before the last siege of Jerusalem, they came at the entreaty of the zelots to assist them against the priests and people, and there together with the zelots committed unheard-of cruelties, and barbarously murdered Ananus the high-priest, from whose death Josephus dateth the destruction of the city.

V. However there was to be a time when the elder should have dominion, and shake off the yoke of the younger. *And it shall come to pass when thou shalt have dominion, that thou shalt break his yoke from off thy neck.* The word which we translate *have dominion* is capable of various interpretations. Some render it in the sense of *laying down* or *shaking off*, as the (4) Septuagint and the Vulgar Latin, *and it shall come to pass that thou shalt shake off, and shalt loose his yoke from off thy neck.* Some again render it in the sense of *mourning* or *repenting*, as the (5) Syriac, *but if thou shalt repent, his yoke shall pass from off thy neck.* But the most common rendering and most approved is, *when thou shalt have dominion;* and it is not said or meant, that they should have dominion over the seed of Jacob, but simply have dominion, as they had when they appointed a king of their own. The (6) Jerusalem Targum thus paraphraseth the whole, 'And it shall be when the sons of Jacob attend to the 'law, and observe the precepts, they shall impose the 'yoke of servitude upon thy neck; but when they shall 'turn themselves away from studying the law, and

(4) εςαι δε ἡνικα εαν καθελης και εκλυσης τον ζυγον αυτȣ απο τȣ τραχηλȣ σȣ. Sept. tempusque veniet cum excutias et solvas jugum ejus de cervicibus tuis. Vulg. [Translated in the text.]

(5) At si pœnitentiam egeris, præteribit jugum ejus a collo tuo. Syr. [Translated in the text.]

(6) Et erit cum operam dabunt filii Jacob legi, et servabunt mandata, imponent jugum servitutis super collum tuum: quando autem averterint se filii Jacob, ut non studeant legi, nec servaverint mandata, ecce tunc abrumpes jugum jugum servitutis eorum a collo tuo. Targ. Hieros. [Translated in the text.]

'neglect the precepts, behold then thou shalt shake off 'the yoke of servitude from thy neck.' David imposed the yoke, and at that time the Jewish people observed the law. But the yoke was very galling to the Edomites from the first: and toward the latter end of Solomon's reign, Hadad the Edomite of the blood royal, who had been carried into Egypt in his childhood, returned into his own country, and raised some disturbances (1 Kings xi.) but was not able to recover his throne, (7) his subjects being overawed by the garrisons which David had placed among them. But in the reign of Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat king of Judah, *the Edomites revolted from under the dominion of Judah and made themselves a king.* Jehoram made some attempts to subdue them again, but could not prevail. *So the Edomites revolted from under the hand of Judah unto this day,* saith the author of the books of Chronicles: (2 Chron. xxi. 8, 10.) and hereby this part of the prophecy was fulfilled about nine hundred years after it was delivered.

VI. But in all spiritual gifts and graces the younger should be greatly superior, and be the happy instrument of conveying the blessing to all nations. *In thee and in thy seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed:* and hitherto are to be referred in their full force those expressions, *Let people serve thee, and nations bow down to thee; Cursed be every one that curseth thee, and blessed be he that blesseth thee.* The same promise was made to Abraham in the name of God, *I will bless them that bless thee, and curse him that curseth thee:* (Gen. xii. 3.) and it is here repeated to Jacob, and is thus paraphrased in the (8) Jerusalem Targum. 'He who curseth thee, shall be 'cursed as Balaam the son of Beor; and he who bless-'seth thee, shall be blessed, as Moses the prophet, the 'lawgiver of Israel.' It appears that Jacob was a man of more religion, and believed the divine promises more

(7) Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 8. Cap. 7. Sect. 6. p. 361. Edit. Hudson.

(8) Quisquis maledixerit tibi Jacob fili mi, erit maledictus sicut Balaam filius Beor: quisquis autem benedixerit tibi, erit benedictus, sicut Moses propheta, legislator Israelitarum. Targ. Hieros. [Translated in the text.]

than Esau. The posterity of Jacob likewise preserved the true religion and the worship of one God, while the Edomites were sunk in idolatry. And of the seed of Jacob was born at last the Saviour of the world. This was the peculiar privilege and advantage of Jacob, to be the happy instrument of conveying these spiritual blessings to all nations. This was his greatest superiority over Esau: and in this sense St. Paul understands and applies the prophecy, *the elder shall serve the younger.* (Rom. ix. 12.) The Christ the Saviour of the world, was to be born of some one family: and Jacob's was preferred to Esau's out of the good pleasure of almighty God, who is certainly the best judge of fitness and expedience, and hath an undoubted right to dispense his favours as he shall see proper; *for he saith to Moses* (as the apostle proceeds to argue ver. 15.) *I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy, and I will have compassion on whom I will have compassion.* And when the Gentiles were converted to Christianity, the prophecy was fulfilled literally, *Let people serve thee, and nations bow down to thee;* and will more amply be fulfilled, when *the fulness of the Gentiles shall come in, and all Israel shall be saved.*

We have traced the accomplishment of the prophecy from the beginning; and we find that the nation of the Edomites hath at several times been conquered by and made tributary to the Jews, but never the nation of the Jews to the Edomites, and the Jews have been the more considerable people, more known in the world, and more famous in history. We know indeed little more of the history of the Edomites, than as it is connected with that of the Jews: and where is the name or the nation now? They were swallowed up and lost, partly among the Nabathæan Arabs, and partly among the Jews; and the very name was (9) abolished and disused about the end of the first century after Christ. Thus were they rewarded for insulting and oppressing their brethren the Jews, and hereby other prophecies were

(9) See Prideaux Connect. Part 1. Book 5. Anno 129.

fulfilled of Jeremiah, (xlix. 7. &c.) of Ezekiel, (xxv. 12. &c.) of Joel, (iii. 19.) Amos, (i. 11. &c.) and Obadiah. And at this day we see the Jews subsisting as a distinct people, while Edom is no more. For agreeably to the words of Obadiah (ver. 10.) *For thy violence against thy brother Jacob, shame shall cover thee, and thou shalt be cut off for ever:* and again (ver. 18.) *there shall not be any remaining of the house of Esau, for the Lord hath spoken it.*

IV.

JACOB'S PROPHECIES CONCERNING HIS SONS, PARTICULARLY JUDAH.

IT is an opinion of great antiquity, that the nearer men approach to their dissolution, their souls grow more divine, and discern more of futurity. We find this opinion as early as (1) Homer, for he represents the dying Patroclus foretelling the fate of Hector, and the dying Hector denouncing no less certainly the death of Achilles. Socrates in his Apology to the Athenians a little before his death (2) asserts the same opinion. But now,' saith he, 'I am desirous to prophesy to you 'who have condemned me, what will happen hereafter. 'For now I am arrived at that state, in which men 'prophesy most, when they are about to die.' His scholar (3) Xenophon introduces the dying Cyrus de-

(1.) Hom. Iliad. XVI. 852. et Iliad. XXII. 358.

(2) Το δε δη μετα τουτο επιθυμω ὑμιν χρησμῳδησαι, ω καταψηφισαμενοι μου. και γαρ ειμι ηδη ενταυθα εν ᾧ μαλιστ' ανθρωποι χρησμῳδουσιν, ὁταν μελλωσιν αποθανεισθαι. Jam vero, O vos, qui me condemnastis, cupio vobis earum rerum, quæ vobis sunt eventuræ, casus quasi oraculo prædicere; in illum enim temporis statum jam perveni, in quo homines divinandi facultate maxime pollent, quando nimirum morituri sunt. [Translated in the text.] Platonis Apolog. Socr. Op. Vol. I. p. 39. Edit. Serrani.

(3) ἡ δε του ανθρωπου ψυχη τοτε δηπου θειοτατη καταφαινεται, και τοτε τι των

claring in like manner, 'that the soul of man at the 'hour of death appears most divine, and then foresees 'something of future events.' Diodorus Siculus (4) allegeth great authorities upon this subject: 'Pythagoras 'the Samian and some others of the ancient naturalists 'have demonstrated that the souls of men are immortal, 'and in consequence of this opinion that they also fore-'know future events, at the time that they are making 'their separation from the body in death.' Sextus Empiricus (5) confirms it likewise by the authority of Aristotle; 'the soul, saith Aristotle, foresees and foretels 'future events, when it is going to be separated from 'the body by death.' We might produce more testimonies to this purpose from Cicero, and Eustathius upon Homer, and from other authors, if there was occasion; but these are sufficient to show the great (6)

μελλοντων προορα. ac hominis animus tum scilicet maxime divinus perspicitur, et tum futurorum aliquid prospicit. [Translated in the text.] Xenoph. Cyrop. Lib. 8. prope finem. p. 140. Edit. Henr. Steph. 1581.

(4) Πυθαγορας ὁ Σαμιος και τινες ἑτεροι των παλαιων φυσικων απεφηναντο τας ψυχας των ανθρωπων ὑπαρχειν αθανατους, ακολουθως δε τω δογματι τουτω και προγιγνωσκειν αυτας τα μελλοντα, καθ' ὁν αν καιρον εν τη τελευτη του απο του σωματος χωρισμον ποιωνται. Pythagoras Samius, et quidam physicorum veterum alii, immortales esse hominum animas confirmarunt: et quod hujus sententiæ consectarium est, prænoscere futura, cum, imminente vitæ exitu, jamjam a corpore segregantur. [Translated in the text.] In initio Lib. 18, Tom. 2. p. 586. Edit Rhodomani.

(5) Η ψυχη, φησιν Αριστοτελης, προμαντευεται και προαγορευει τα μελλοντα—εν τω καθ' Θανατον χωριζεσθαι των σωματων. [Translated in the text.] Adv. Mathem. p. 312.

(6) Shakespear alludes to this notion in Henry IV. First Part.

——O, I could prophesy,
But that the earthy and cold hand of death
Lies on my tongue.

The same notion is also happily expressed in a most excellent Latin poem, *De Animi Immortalitate*, which is deserving of a place among classic authors, in richness of poetry equals Lucretius, and in clearness and strength of argument exceeds him.

Namque ubi torpescunt artus jam morte propinqua,
Acrior est acies tum mentis, et entheus ardor;
Tempore non alio facundia suavior, atque
Latidicæ jam tum voces morientis ab ore.

["For when the body oft expiring lies,
Its limbs quite senseless, and half closed its eyes,
The mind new force and eloquence acquires,
And with prophetic voice the dying lips inspires."]

antiquity of this opinion. And it is possible, that (7) old experience may in some cases attain to something like prophecy and divination. In some instances also God may have been pleased to comfort and inlighten departing souls with a prescience of future events. But what I conceive might principally give rise to this opinion, was the tradition of some of the pātriarchs being divinely inspired in their last moments to foretel the state and condition of the people descended from them; as Jacob upon his death-bed summoned his sons together that he might inform them of what should befal them in *the latter days* or *the last days*; by which phrase some commentators understand the times of the Messiah, or the last great period of the world; and Mr. Whiston particularly (8) asserts, that it is generally, if not always, a characteristic and κρίτηριον of prophecies not to be fulfilled till the coming of the Messiah; and accordingly he supposes that these prophecies of Jacob more properly belong to the second coming of the Messiah, at the restoration of the twelve tribes hereafter. But the phrase of *the latter days* or *last days* in the Old Testament signifies any time that is yet to come, though sometimes it may relate to the times of the Messiah in particular, as it comprehends all future time in general: and hence it is used in prophecies that respect different times and periods. *I will advertise thee*, said Balaam to Balak, (Numb. xxiv. 14.) *what this people shall do to thy people in the latter days*: but what the Israelites did to the Moabites, was done long before the times of the Messiah. *I know*, saith Moses, (Deut. xxxi. 29.) *that after my death ye will utterly corrupt yourselves, and turn aside from the way which I have commanded you, and evil will befal you in the latter days*: where the *latter days* are much the same as the *time after the death of* Moses. *There is a God in heaven*, saith Daniel, (ii. 28.) *that revealeth secrets, and maketh known to the*

(7) Alluding to these lines of Milton,

Till old experience do attain
To something like prophetic strain.

(8) Boyle's Lectures, Vol. 2. p. 311.

king Nebuchadnezzar, what shall be in the latter days: but several particulars are there foretold of the four great monarchies of the earth, which were fulfilled before the coming of the Messiah. And in like manner these prophecies of Jacob were, many or most of them, accomplished under the Mosaic œconomy, several ages before the birth of our Saviour.

Jacob as we have seen, received a double blessing, temporal and spiritual, the promise of the land of Canaan, and the promise of the seed in which all the nations of the earth should be blessed; which promises were first made to Abraham, and then repeated to Isaac, and then confirmed to Jacob; and Jacob a little before his death bequeaths the same to his children. The temporal blessing or inheritance of the land of Canaan might be shared and divided among all his sons, but the blessed seed could descend only from one; and Jacob accordingly assigns to each a portion in the promised land, but limits the descent of the blessed seed to the tribe of Judah, and at the same time sketches out the characters and fortunes of all the tribes.

He adopts the two sons of Joseph, Manasseh and Ephraim, for his own, but foretels that the younger should be the greater of the two: (Gen. xlviii. 19.) and hath not the prediction been fully justified by the event? The tribe of Ephraim grew to be so numerous and powerful, that it is sometimes put for all the ten tribes of Israel.——Of Reuben it is said, (Gen. xlix. 4.) *Unstable as water, thou shalt not excel:* and what is recorded great or excellent of the tribe of Reuben? In number (Numb. i.) and power they were inferior to several other tribes.—Of Simeon and Levi it is said, (ver. 7.) *I will divide them in Jacob, and scatter them in Israel:* and was not this eminently fulfilled in the tribe of Levi, who had no portion or inheritance of their own, but were dispersed among the other tribes? Neither had the tribe of Simeon any inheritance properly of their own, but only a portion in the midst of the tribe of Judah; (Josh. xix. 1—9.) from whence several of them afterwards went in quest of new habitations,

(1 Chron. iv. 39, &c.) and so were divided from the rest of their brethren. A constant tradition too (9) hath prevailed among the Jews (which is also confirmed by the Jerusalem Targum) that the tribe of Simeon were so straitened in their situation and circumstances, that great numbers were necessitated to seek a subsistence among the other tribes, by teaching and instructing their children.—Of Zebulun it is said, (ver. 13.) *He shall dwell at the haven of the sea, and shall be for an haven of ships:* and accordingly the tribe of Zebulun extended from the sea of Galilee to the Mediterranean, (Josh. xix. 10, &c.) where they had commodious havens for shipping. And how could Jacob have foretold the situation of any tribe, which was determined 200 years afterwards by casting of lots, unless he had been directed by that divine Spirit, who disposeth of all events?—Of Benjamin it is said, (ver. 27.) *He shall ravin as a wolf:* and was not that a fierce and warlike tribe, as appears in several instances, and particularly in the case of the Levite's wife, (Judg. xx.) when they alone waged war against all the other tribes, and overcame them in two battles?

In this manner he characterizes these and the other tribes, and foretels their temporal condition, and that of Judah as well as the rest: *Binding his fole unto the vine, and his asses colt unto the choice vine, he washed his garments in wine, and his clothes in the blood of grapes. His eyes shall be red with wine, and his teeth white with milk:* (ver. 11, 12.) and not to mention the valley of Eshcol and other fruitful places, the mountains about Jerusalem, by the accounts of the best travelers, were particularly fitted for the cultivation of the vine, and for the feeding of cattle. "The blessing, says (1) Dr. Shaw, that was

(9) Tradunt quoque Hebræi, scribas, pædotribas, pædogogos, et doctores puerorum fere omnes ex tribu Schimeon fuisse, qui, ut haberent unde viverent, sparsim et oppidatim pueros informare cogebantur. Cui sententiæ adstipulatur et Thargum Hieros. &c. Fagius. [The Jews also have a tradition that the writers, tutors, schoolmasters and teachers of youth were almost all of the tribe of Simeon, who, that they might procure a subsistence were forced to live separately, in the towns and villages of their brethren. This opinion is embraced by the author of the Jerusalem Targum. See Fagius.]

(1) Shaw's Travels, p. 366, 367.

" given to Judah, was not of the same kind, with the " blessing of Asher, or of Issachar that *his bread should* " *be fat*, or *his land should be pleasant*, but that *his eyes* " *should be red with wine, and his teeth should be white* " *with milk*." He farther observes that " the moun- " tains of the country abound with shrubs and a deli- " cate short grass, both which the cattle are more fond " of, than of such plants as are common to fallow " grounds and meadows. Neither was this method of " grazing peculiar to this country; inasmuch as it is " still practised all over mount Libanus, the Castravan " mountains and Barbary; in all which places the " higher grounds are set apart for this use, and the plains " and valleys for tillage. For besides the good manage- " ment and œconomy, there is this farther advantage, " that the milk of cattle fed in this manner is far more " rich and delicious, as their flesh is more sweet and " nourishing.—It may be presumed likewise, that the " vine was not neglected, in a soil and exposition so " proper for it to thrive in." He mentions particularly " the many tokens which are to be met with, of the an- " cient vineyards about Jerusalem and Hebron," and " the great quantity of grapes and raisins, which are from " thence brought daily to the markets of Jerusalem, and " sent yearly to Egypt."

But Jacob bequeaths to Judah particularly the spiritual blessing, and delivers it in much the same form of word that it was delivered to him. Isaac had said to Jacob, (Gen. xxvii. 29.) *Let people serve thee, and nations bow down to thee; be lord over thy brethren, and let thy mother's sons bow down to thee:* and here Jacob saith to Judah, (ver 8.) *Thou art he whom thy brethren shall praise; thy hand shall be in the neck of thy enemies; thy father's children shall bow down before thee.* And for greater certainty it is added, (ver. 10.) *The scepter shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come, and unto him shall the gathering of the people be.* I will not trouble the reader or myself with a detail of the various interpretations which have been put upon this passage, but will only offer that which ap-

pears to me the plainest, easiest, and best; I will first explain the words and meaning of the prophecy, and then show the full and exact completion of it. They who are curious to know the various interpretations of the learned, may find an account of them in (2) Huetius and (3) Le Clerc: but no one hath treated the subject in a more masterly manner than the present (4) Lord Bishop of London; and we shall principally tread in his footsteps, as we cannot follow a better guide.

I. *The scepter shall not depart from Judah.* The word שבט *shebet*, which we translate a *scepter*, signifies a *rod* or *staff* of any kind; and particularly the rod or staff which (5) belonged to each tribe as an ensign of their authority; and thence it is transferred to signify a *tribe*, as being united under one rod or staff of government, or a ruler of a tribe; and in this sense it is used twice in this very chapter, (ver. 16.) *Dan shall judge his people as one of the tribes* or rulers *of Israel;* and again (ver. 28.) *All these are the twelve tribes or rulers of Israel.* It hath the same signification in 2 Sam. vii. 7. *In all the places wherein I have walked with all the children of Israel, spake I a word with any of the tribes* or rulers *of Israel* (in the parallel place of Chronicles, 1 Chron. xvii. 6. it is *judges of Israel*) *whom I commanded to feed my people Israel, saying, Why build ye not me an house of cedar?* The word doth indeed sometimes signify a *scepter*, but that is apt to convey an idea of kingly authority, which was not the

(2) Demonstratio Evangelica, Prop. 9. Cap. 4.

(3) Comment. in locum.

(4) See the 3d Dissertation in Bishop Sherlock's Discourses of the Use and Intent of Prophecy.

(5) Bishop Sherlock hath cited to this purpose Menochius de Repub. Heb. Lib. 1. Cap. 4. Traductum vero nomen est ad significandum tribum —quod unaquæque tribus suam peculiarem virgam haberet, nomine suo inscriptam, quam tribuum principes—manu gestare consueverant.—Cum Dominus Aaronem his verbis alloquitur, *sed et fratres tuos de tribu Levi, et sceptrum patris tui sume tecum*, intellige sceptrum ipsum, et totam tribum quæ sceptro significabatur, et regebatur. [But the name (of a rod) hath been transferred to denote a tribe, because each tribe was in possession of its peculiar rod, with its name inscribed thereon, which the princes of the tribes used to carry in their hand. When the Lord addresseth Aaron in these words, *but take thou with thee, both thy brethren of the tribe of Levi and the rod of thy father*, we are to understand both the rod itself, and the whole tribe, which was signified, and ruled, by the rod.]

thing intended here: and the (6) Seventy translate it ἀρχων a *ruler*, which answers better to a *lawgiver* in the following clause. It could not with any sort of propriety be said, that *the scepter should not depart from Judah*, when Judah had no scepter, nor was to have any for many generations afterwards: but Judah had a rod or staff of a tribe, for he was then constituted a tribe as well as the rest of his brethren. The very same expression occurs in Zechariah, (x. 11.) *and the scepter of Egypt shall depart away*, which implies that Egypt had a scepter, and that that scepter should be taken away; but no grammar or language could justify the saying that *Judah's scepter should depart* or be taken away, before Judah was in possession of any scepter. Would it not therefore be better, to substitute the word *staff* or *ruler* instead of *scepter*, unless we restrain the meaning of a scepter to a rod or staff of a tribe, which is all that is here intended? The staff or ruler *shall not depart from Judah. The* tribeship *shall not depart from Judah.* Such authority as Judah had then, was to remain with his posterity. It is not said or meant, that he should not cease from being a king or having a kingdom, for he was then no king, and had no kingdom; but only that he should not cease from being a tribe or body politic, having rulers and governors of his own, till a certain period here foretold.

Nor a lawgiver from between his feet. The sense of the word *scepter* will help us to fix and determin the meaning of the other word מחקק *mechokek*, which we translate a *lawgiver*. For if they are not synonimous, they are not very different. Such as the government is, such must be the lawgiver. The government was only of a single tribe, and the lawgiver could be of no more. Nor had the tribe of Judah at any time a legislative authority over all the other tribes, no, not even in the reigns of David and Solomon. When David appointed the officers for the service of the temple; (1 Chron. xxv. 1. Ezra viii. 20.) and when Solomon was appointed king and Zadok

(6) Ουκ εκλειψει αρχων εξ Ιουδα. [A ruler out of Judah shall not be wanting.] Sept.

priest; (1 Chron. xxix. 22.) these things were done with the consent and approbation of the princes and rulers of Israel. Indeed the whole nation had but one law, and one lawgiver in the strict sense of the word. The king himself was not properly a lawgiver; he was only to have *a copy of the law,* to *read therein,* and to *turn not aside from the Commandment, to the right hand or to the left.* (Deut. xvii. 18, &c.) Moses was truly, as he is styled, *the lawgiver:* (Numb. xxi. 18. Deut. xxxii. 21.) and when the word is applied to any other person or persons, as Judah is twice called by the Psalmist (Psal. lx. 7. cviii. 8.) *my lawgiver,* it is used in a lower signification. For it signifies not only a lawgiver, but a judge: not only one who maketh laws, but likewise one who exerciseth jurisdiction: and in the (7) Greek it is translated ἡγεμὼν a *leader or præsident,* in the (8) Chaldee a *scribe,* in the (9) Syriac an *expositor,* and in our English bible it is elsewhere translated a *governor,* as in Judges (v. 14.) *Out of Machir came down* governors, *and out of Zebulun they that handle the pen of the writer.* The *lawgiver* therefore is to be taken in a restrained sense as well as the *scepter:* and perhaps it cannot be translated better, than *judge: Nor a* judge *from between his feet.* Whether we understand it, that *a judge from between his feet shall not depart from Judah,* or *a judge shall not depart from between his feet,* I conceive the meaning to be much the same, that there should not be wanting a judge of the race and posterity of Judah, according to the Hebrew phrase of children's coming *from between the feet.* They who expound it of *sitting at the feet of Judah,* seem not to have considered that this was the place of scholars, and not of judges and doctors of the law. As *Dan* (ver. 16.) was to *judge his people as one of the tribes* or rulers *of Israel;* so was *Judah,* and with this particular prerogative, that *the* staff or ruler *should not depart from Judah,*

(7) και ἡγεμὼν εκ των μηρων αυτου. [And a leader from his loins.] Sept.
(8) Neque scriba a filiis filiorum ejus. [Nor a Scribe from his children's children.] Chald.
(9) Et expositor de inter pedes ejus. [And an expositor from between his feet.] Syr.

nor a judge *from between his feet,* until the time here foretold, which we are now to examine and ascertain.

Until Shiloh come, that is, until the coming of the Messiah, as almost all interpreters, both ancient and modern, agree. For howsoever they may explain the word, and whencesoever they may derive it, the Messiah is the person plainly intended.—The (1) Vulgar Latin translates it *Qui mittendus est, He who is to be sent ;* and to favor this version that passage in St. John's Gospel (ix. 7.) is usually cited, *Go wash in the pool of Siloam, which is by interpretation sent :* And who was ever sent with such power and authority from God as the Messiah, who frequently speaketh of himself in the Gospel under the denomination of *him whom the Father hath sent ?*—The (2) Seventy translate it τα αποκειμενα αυτῳ *the things reserved for him,* or according to other copies ᾧ αποκειται *he for whom it is reserved :* And what was the great treasure reserved for Judah, or who was the person for whom all things were reserved, but the Messiah, whom we have declaring in the Gospel, (Matt. xi 27.) *All things are delivered unto me of my Father,* and again (xxviii. 18.) *All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth ?*—the Syriac translates it to the same purpose *is cujus illud est, he whose it is,* I suppose meaning the kingdom ; and the Arabic *cujus ipse est, whose he is,* I suppose meaning Judah : And whose was Judah, or whose was the kingdom so properly as the Messiah's who is so many times predicted under the character of *the king of Israel ?*——Junius and Tremellius with others (3) translate it *filius ejus his son :* And who could be this son of Judah by way of eminence, but the Messiah, *the seed in which all the nations of the earth shall be blessed ?*—In the Samaritan text and version it is *pacificus, the peace-maker ;* and (4) this per-

(1) As if St. Jerome had read שילוח *Shiloach* instead of שילוה *Shiloh,* and hath derived it from שלח *Shalach misit,* the mistake being easy of ח *ch* for ה *h.*

(2) Deriving it from ש *sh quod* or *quæ* , and לו *lo ei.*

(3) As if it was derived from שיל *Shil profluvium sanguinis* or שליה *Shilejah secundina,* that wherein the infant is wrapped, and thence by a metonomy the infant itself.

(4) I look upon the word שילוה *Shiloh* to be derived from the verb שלה

haps is the best explication of the word: And to whom can this or any the like title be so justly applied as to the Messiah, who is emphatically stiled (Is. ix 6) *the prince of peace*, and at whose birth was sung that heavenly anthem, (Luke ii. 15.) *Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good-will towards men?*

These are the principal interpretations, and which ever of these you prefer, the person understood must be the Messiah. But the learned Mr. Le Clerc would explain the text in such a manner as utterly to exclude the Messiah: and he was a very able commentator, the best perhaps upon the Pentateuch; but like other learned men, he was sometimes apt to indulge strange unaccountable fancies. Of this kind, I conceive, is his interpretation of this prophecy; for he (5) says that *Shiloh* signifies *finis ejus aut cessatio, his end or ceasing*, and that it may be referred to the *lawgiver*, or to the *scepter*, or even to Judah himself. But if it be referred to the *lawgiver*, or *to the scepter*, what is it but an unmeaning tautology. *There shall be a lawgiver as long as there shall be a lawgiver. There shall not be an end of the scepter till the end of the scepter come?* If it be referred to Judah or the tribe of Judah, the thing is by no means true; for the tribe of Judah subsisted, long after they had lost the kingdom, and were deprived of all royal authority. Not many readers, I imagin, will concur with this learned commentator. The generality of interpreters, Jewish as well as Christian, have by *Shiloh* always understood the Messiah. The Targum of Onkelos is commonly (6) supposed to have been made before our Saviour's time, and he (7) thus expresseth the sense of the passage, 'There

Shalah tranquillus, pacificus fuit, in the same manner as קטר *kitor fumus* is formed from קטר *katar suffumigavit*; and there are other words of that formation.

(5) He says that שילוה *Shiloh* is the same as שילו *Shilo*, and שיל *Shil* may be derived from שול *Shul*, and *Shul* is the same as שלה *Shalah*, which in Chaldee signifies *cessare, desinere—finis* aut *cessatio* verti poterit. Hoc posito, *finis ejus* poterit ad *legislatorem* aut ad *sceptrum* referri, aut etiam ad ipsum Judam. [This being supposed, *his end* may be referred to the *lawgiver*, or to the *scepter*, or even to Judah himself.] Comment in locum.

(6) See Prideaux. Connect. Part 2. B. 8. Anno 37.

(7) Non auferetur habens principatum a domo Judæ, neque scriba a filiis filiorum ejus, *usque in seculum*; donec veniat Messias, cujus est regnum. [Translated in the text.]

'shall not be taken away one having the principality from 'the house of Judah, nor a scribe from his children's 'children, till Messias come whose is the kingdom.' And with him agree the other Targums or Chaldee paraphrases, and the authors of the Talmud, and other ancient and modern Jews, whom the reader may see cited in Buxtorf upon the word. So that, I think, no doubt can remain, that by the *coming of Shiloh* is meant the *coming of the Messiah.*

And unto him shall the gathering of the people be, or *obedience of the people,* as it is otherwise translated. These words are capable of three different constructions; and each so probable, that it is not easy to say which was certainly intended by the author. For 1. they may relate to *Judah,* who is the main subject of the prophecy, and of the discourse preceding and following; and by the *people* we may understand the people of Israel: and then the meaning will be, that the other tribes should be gathered to the tribe of Judah; which sense is approved by Le Clerc and some late commentators. Or 2. they may relate to *Shiloh,* who is the person mentioned immediately before; and by the *people* we may understand the Gentiles: and then the meaning will be, that the Gentiles should be gathered or become obedient to the Messiah; which sense is consonant to other texts of scripture, and is confirmed by the authority of most ancient interpreters; only (8) some of them render it, *and he shall be the expectation of the nation.* Or 3. they may still relate to *Shiloh,* and yet not be considered as a distinct clause, but be joined in construction with the preceding words, *until Shiloh come,* the word *until* being common to both parts; and then the sentence will run thus, *until Shiloh come and to him the gathering* or *obedience of the people,* that is, until the Messiah come, and until the people or nations be gathered to his obedience; which sense is preferred by the most learned (9) Mr. Mede and

(8) Et ipse erit expectatio gentium. [Translated in the text.] Vulg. following the Sept. και αυτω προσδοκια εθνων. who probably derived the word from קוה expectavit.

(9) See Mede's Discourse viii. et Gothofr. Valandi Dissert. cui titulus. *Prætor e medio civium Jud. ante Messiæ imperium universale nun abscessurus,* Syllog. Dissertat. Vol. 1. Mann's Crit. Note in locum.

some others. And each of these interpretations may very well be justified by the event.

II. Having thus explained the words and meaning of the prophecy, I now proceed to shew the full and exact completion of it. The twelve sons of Jacob are here constituted twelve tribes or heads of tribes, (ver. 28.) *All these are the twelve tribes of Israel; and this is it that their father spake unto them, and blessed them; every one according to his blessing he blessed them.* To Judah particularly it was promised, that *the scepter* or rod of the tribe *should not depart from him, nor a* judge or *lawgiver from between his feet;* his tribe should continue a distinct tribe with rulers and judges and governors of its own, until the coming of the Messiah. The people of Israel after this settlement of their government were reckoned by their tribes, but never before. It appears that they were reckoned by their tribes and according to their families, while they sojourned in Egypt: and the tribe of Judah made as considerable a figure as any of them. In number it was superior to the others: (Numb. i. and xxvi.) it had the first rank in the armies of Israel: (Numb. ii.) it marched first against the Canaanites: (Judg. i.) and upon all occasions manifested such courage as fully answered the character given of it, (ver. 9.) *Judah is a lion's whelp; from the prey, my son, thou art gone up: he stooped down, he couched as a lion, and as an old lion, who shall rouse him up?* If the first king of Israel was of the tribe of Benjamin, the second was of the tribe of Judah; and from that time to the Babylonish captivity Judah had not only the scepter of a tribe, but likewise the scepter of a kingdom. When it was promised to Judah particularly that the scepter should not depart from him, it was implied that it should depart from the other tribes: and accordingly the tribe of Benjamin became a sort of appendage to the kingdom of Judah; and the other ten tribes were after a time carried away captive into Assyria, from whence they never returned. The Jews also were carried captive to Babylon, but returned after seventy years: and during their captivity they were far from being treated as slaves, as it appears from the prophet's advice to them;

(Jerem. xxix. 5, &c.) *Build ye houses, and dwell in them; and plant gardens, and eat the fruit of them,* &c. and many of them were so well fixed and settled at Babylon, and lived there in such ease and affluence, that they refused to return to their native country. In their captivity they were still allowed to live as a distinct people, appointed feasts and fasts for themselves, and had rulers and governors of their own, as we may collect from several places in Ezra and Nehemiah. When Cyrus had issued his proclamation for the rebuilding of the temple, *then rose up the chief of the fathers,* saith Ezra; (i. 5.) so that they had chiefs and rulers among them. Cyrus ordered the vessels of the temple to be delivered to *the prince of Judah;* (Ezra i. 8.) so that they had then a prince of Judah. And these princes and rulers, who are often mentioned, managed their return and settlement afterwards. It is true that after the Babylonish captivity they were not so free a people as before, living under the dominion of the Persians, Greeks, and Romans; but still they lived as a distinct people under their own laws. The authority of their rulers and elders subsisted under these foreign masters, as it had even while they were in Egypt. It subsisted under the Asmonean princes, as it had under the government of the Judges, and Samuel, and Saul; for in the books of Maccabees there is frequent mention of *the rulers and elders and council of the Jews,* and of public acts and memorials in their name. It subsisted even in our Saviour's time, for in the Gospels we read often of *the chief priests and the scribes and the elders of the people.* Their power indeed in capital causes, especially such as related to the state, was abridged in some measure; they might judge, but not execute without the consent of the Roman governor, as I think we must infer from this passage, (John xviii. 31.) *Then said Pilate unto them, Take ye him, and judge him according to your law: the Jews therefore said unto him, It is not lawful for us to put any man to death.* The scepter was then departing, and in about forty years afterwards it totally departed. Their city was taken, their temple was destroyed, and they themselves were either

slain with the sword, or sold for slaves. And from that time to this they have never formed one body or society, but have been dispersed among all nations; their tribes and genealogies have been all confounded, and they have lived without a ruler, without a lawgiver, and without supreme authority and government in any part of the earth. And this a captivity not for seventy years, but for seventeen hundred. "Nor will they ever be able (as "the learned (1) prelate expresseth it) after all their pre-"tences, to shew any signs or marks of the *scepter* "among them, till they discover the unknown country "*where never mankind dwelt*, and where the apocryphal "Esdras has placed their brethren of the ten tribes." (2 Esdras xiii. 41.)

We have seen the exact completion of the former part of the prophecy, and now let us attend to that of the latter part, *And unto him shall the gathering of the people be.* If we understand this of Judah, that the other tribes should be gathered to that tribe, it was in some measure fulfilled by the people's going up so frequently as they did to Jerusalem, which was in the tribe of Judah, in order to obtain justice in difficult cases, and to worship God in his holy temple. *Whither the tribes go up,* (saith the Psalmist cxxii. 4, 5.) *the tribes of the Lord; unto the testimony of Israel, to give thanks unto the name of the Lord. For there are set thrones of judgment; the thrones of the house of David.* Upon the division of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, the tribe of Benjamin, and the priests and Levites, and several out of all the other tribes, (2 Chron. xi. 13, 16.) went over to Judah, and were so blended and incorporated together, that they are more than once spoken of under the notion of *one tribe:* (1 Kings xi. 13, 32, 36.) and it is said expressly (1 Kings xii. 20.) *there was none that followed the house of David, but the tribe of Judah only;* all the rest were swallowed up in that tribe, and considered as parts and members of it. In like manner, when the Israelites were carried away captive into Assyria, it is said (2 Kings xvii. 18.) *there*

(1) Bishop Sherlock's Dissertat. 3d. p. 351. Edit. 5.

was none left but the tribe of Judah only; and yet we know that the tribe of Benjamin, and many of the other tribes remained too, but they are reckoned as one and the same tribe with Judah. Nay at this very time there was a remnant of Israel, that escaped from the Assyrians, and went and adhered to Judah: for we find afterwards, that in the reign of Josiah there were some of *Manasseh and Ephraim and of the remnant of Israel,* who contributed money to the repairing of the temple, as well as *Judah and Benjamin:* (2 Chron. xxxiv. 9.) and at the solemn celebration of the passover some *of Israel were present* as well as *all Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem.* When the people returned from the Babylonish captivity, then again several of the tribes of Israel associated themselves and returned with Judah and Benjamin; *and in Jerusalem dwelt of the children of Judah, and of the children of Benjamin, and of the children of Ephraim and Manasseh.* (1 Chron. ix. 3.) At so many different times, and upon such different occasions, the other tribes were gathered to this tribe, insomuch that Judah became the general name of the whole nation; and after the Babylonish captivity they were no longer called the *people of Israel,* but the *people of Judah* or *Jews.*

Again; if we understand this of Shiloh or the Messiah, that the people or Gentiles should be gathered to his obedience, it is no more than is foretold in many other prophecies of scripture; and it began to be fulfilled in Cornelius the centurion, whose conversion (Acts x.) was as I may say the first fruits of the Gentiles, and the harvest afterwards was very plenteous. In a few years the gospel was disseminated, and *took root downward, and bore fruit upward* in the most considerable parts of the world then known; and in Constantine's time, when the empire became Christian, it might with some propriety be said, *the kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever.* (Rev. xi. 15.) We ourselves were of the Gentiles, but are now *gathered* unto Christ.

Lastly; if we join this in construction with the words preceding *until Shiloh come,* two events are specified as

forerunners of the scepter's departing from Judah, the coming of the Messiah, and the gathering of the Gentiles to him; and these together point out with greater exactness the precise time of the scepter's departure. Now it is certain that before the destruction of Jerusalem, and the dissolution of the Jewish commonwealth by the Romans, the Messiah was not only come, but great numbers likewise of the Gentiles were converted to him. The very same thing was predicted by our Saviour himself, (Matt. xxiv. 14.) *This gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world, for a witness unto all nations, and then shall the end come,* the destruction of Jesrusalem, and end of the Jewish constitution. The Jews were not to be cut off, till the Gentiles were graffed into the church. And in fact we find that the apostles and their companions preached the gospel in all the parts of the world then known. *Their sound* (as St. Paul applies the saying, Rom. x. 18.) *went into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world.* And *then the end came,* then an end was put to the Jewish polity in church and state. The government of the tribe of Judah had subsisted in some form or other from the death of Jacob to the last destruction of Jerusalem: but then it was utterly broken and ruined; then the scepter departed and hath been departed ever since. And now even the distinction of tribes is in great measure lost among them; they are called Jews, but the tribe of Judah is so far from bearing rule, that they know not for certain which is the tribe of Judah; and all the world is witness, that they exercise dominion no where, but every where *live* in subjection.

Before we conclude, it may not be improper to add a just observation of the learned prelate before cited. As the tribe of Benjamin annexed itself to the tribe of Judah as its head, so it ran the same fortune with it; they went together into captivity, they returned home together, and were both in being when Shiloh came. This also was foretold by Jacob, (ver. 27.) *Benjamin shall ravin as a wolf; in the morning he shall devour the prey, and at night he shalt divide the spoil.* The *morning* and

night here can be nothing else but the (2) morning and night of the Jewish state; for this state is the subject of all Jacob's prophecy from one end to the other: and consequently it is here foretold of Benjamin, that he should continue to the very last times of the Jewish state. This interpretation is confirmed by Moses's prophecy, for the prophecy of Moses is in truth an exposition of Jacob's prophecy. *Benjamin,* saith Moses, (Deut. xxxiii. 12.) *shall dwell in safety; the Lord shall cover him all the day long.* What is this *all the day long?* The same certainly as the *morning and night.* Does not this import a promise of a longer continuance to Benjamin, than to the other tribes? And was it not most exactly fulfilled?

To conclude. This prophecy and the completion of it will furnish us with an invincible argument, not only that the Messiah is come, but also that Jesus Christ is the person. For the scepter was not to depart from Judah, until the Messiah should come: but the scepter hath long been departed, and consequently the Messiah hath been long come. The scepter departed at the final destruction of Jerusalem, and hath been departed seventeen centuries; and consequently the Messiah came a little before that period: and if the Messiah came a little before that period, prejudice itself cannot long make any doubt concerning the person. All considerate men must say, as Simon Peter said to Jesus, (John vi. 68, 69.) *Lord, to whom shall we go? thou hast the words of eternal life. And we believe and are sure that thou art the Christ, the son of the living God.*

(2) Thus some Jewish interpreters referred to by Bochart, understood the expression, Mane, id est primis Israelitici regni temporibus—Sub vesperam, id est post captivitatis Babylonicæ tempora. [In the morning, that is, in the first or early times of the Israelitish kingdom.—In the evening, that is, after the time of the Babylonish captivity.]—Hierozoic. Pars prior. Lib. 3. Cap. 10. Col. 828.

V.

BALAAM'S PROPHECIES.

WONDERFUL as the gift of prophecy was, it was not always confined to the chosen seed, nor yet always imparted to the best of men. God might sometimes, to convince the world of his superintendence and government of the world, disclose the purposes of his providence to heathen nations. He revealed himself to Abimelech, (Gen. xx.) to Pharaoh, (Gen. xli.) and to Nebuchadnezzar, (Dan. ii.) and we have no reason to deny all the marvellous stories which are related of divination among the heathens; the possibility and credibility of which is argued on both sides by Cicero in his two books of Divination, his brother Quintus asserting it in the first book, and himself labouring to disprove it in the second; but I think all unprejudiced readers must agree, that the arguments for it are stronger and better than those urged against it. Neither was there any necessity, that the prophets should always be good men. Unworthy persons may sometimes be possessed of spiritual gifts as well as of natural. Aaron and Miriam, who were inspired upon some occasions, yet upon others mutinied against Moses, and rebelled against God. Jonah for his disobedience to God was thrown into the sea. In the 13th chapter of the first book of Kings we read of two prophets, the one a lier and afterwards inspired, the other inspired and afterwards disobedient to the word of the Lord. Yea, our Saviour himself hath assured us, (Matt. vii. 22, 23.) that *in the last day many will say unto him, Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name? and in thy name have cast out devils? and in thy name done many wonderful works? and* yet *will he profess unto them, I never knew you; depart from me, ye that work iniquity.*

Balaam was a remarkable instance of both kinds, both of a prophet who was a heathen, and of a prophet who was an immoral man. He came from *Aram* or *Mesopotamia, out of the mountains of the east:* (Numb. xxiii. 7. Deut. xxiii. 4.) and the east was infamous for soothsayers and diviners. (Is. ii. 6.) However he was a worshipper of the true God, (as were also Melchizedek, and Job, and others of the heathen nations) and this appears by his applying to God, (Numb. xxii. 8.) *I will bring you word again, as the Lord shall speak unto me;* and by his calling *the Lord his God,* (ver 18.) *I cannot go beyond the word of* the Lord my God *to do less or more.* But his worship was mixed and debased with superstition, as appears by his building *seven altars,* and sacrificing on each altar, (Numb. xxiii. 1, 2.) and by his going *to seek for enchantments,* whatever they were (Numb. xxiv. 1.) He appears to have had some pious thoughts and resolutions, by declaring *I cannot go beyond the word of the Lord my God to do less or more:* and by so earnestly wishing, *Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his.* (xxiii. 10.) But his heart was unsound, was mercenary, was corrupt; he *loved the wages of unrighteousness,* (2 Pet. ii. 15.) and *ran greedily after rewards;* (Jude 11.) his inclinations were contrary to his duty; he was ordered to stay, but yet he wished to go; he was commanded to bless, but yet he longed to curse; and when he found that he was overruled, and could do the people no hurt as a prophet, he still contrived to do it as a politician, and *taught Balak to cast a stumbling block before the children of Israel, to eat things sacrificed unto idols, and to commit fornication.* (Rev. ii. 14.) So that he was indeed a strange mixture of a man; but so is every man more or less. There are inconsistencies and contradictions in every character, though not so great perhaps and notorious as in Balaam. If he is called a *soothsayer* in one part of the scripture, (Josh. xiii. 22.) in another part he is called a *prophet;* (2 Pet. ii. 16.) and his name must have been in high credit and estimation, that the king of Moab and the elders of Midian should think it worth their while to send

two honourable embassies to him at a considerable distance, to engage him to come and curse the people of Israel. It was a superstitious ceremony in use among the Heathens to devote their enemies to destruction at the beginning of their wars, as if the gods would enter into their passions, and were as unjust and partial as themselves. The Romans had public officers to perform the ceremony, and (1) Macrobius hath preserved the form of these execrations. Now Balaam being a prophet of great note and eminence, it was believed that he was more intimate than others with the heavenly powers, and consequently that his imprecations would be more effectual; for as Balak said unto him, (Numb. xxii. 6.) *I wot that he whom thou blessest is blessed, and he whom thou cursest is cursed.*

But the strangest incident of all is the part of Balaam's ass. This usually is made the grand objection to the truth of the story. The speaking ass from that time to this hath been the standing jest of every infidel brother. Philo the Jew seemeth to have been ashamed of this part of the story: for in the first book of his life of Moses, wherein he hath given an account of Balaam, he hath purposely omitted this particular of the ass's speaking, I suppose not to give offence to the Gentiles; but he needed not to have been so cautious of offending them, for similar stories were current among them. The learned (2) Bochart hath collected several instances, the ass of Bacchus, the ram of Phrixus, the horse of Achilles, and the like, not only from the poets and mythologists, but also from the gravest historians, such as Livy and Plutarch, who frequently affirm that oxen have spoken. The proper use of citing such authorities is not to prove, that those instances and this of Balaam are upon an equal footing, and equally true; but only to prove, that the Gentiles believed such things to be true, and to lie within the power of their gods, and consequently could not object to the truth of scripture-history on this account. Maimonides and others have

(1) Saturnal. Lib. 3. Cap. 9.
(2) Hierozoic. Pars prior, Lib. 2. Cap. 14.

conceived, that the matter was transacted in a vision; and it must be confessed that many things in the writings of the prophets are spoken of as real transactions, which were only visionary; and these visions made as strong impressions upon the minds of the prophets as realities. But it appears rather more probable from the whole tenor of the narration, that this was no visionary, but a real transaction. The words of St. Peter show, that it is to be understood, as he himself understood it, litterally: (2 Pet. ii. 14, 15, 16.) *Cursed children: Which have forsaken the right way, and are gone astray, following the way of Balaam the son of Bosor, who loved the wages of unrighteousness; but was rebuked for his iniquity; the dumb ass speaking with man's voice, forbad the madness of the prophet.* The ass was enabled to utter such and such sounds, probably, as parrots do, without understanding them; and say what you will of the construction of the ass's mouth, of the formation of the tongue and jaws being unfit for speaking, yet an adequate cause is assigned for this wonderful effect, for it is said expressly, *that the Lord opened the mouth of the ass;* and no one who believes a God, can doubt of his having power to do this, and much more. If the whole transaction was visionary, no reason can be given why it was said particularly that *the Lord opened the mouth of the ass.* But it is thought strange that Balaam should express no surprise upon this extraordinary occasion; but perhaps he had been accustomed to prodigies with his enchantments: or perhaps believing the eastern doctrin of the transmigration of human souls into the bodies of brutes, he might think such a humanized brute not incapable of speaking: or perhaps he might not regard, or attend to the wonder, through excess of rage and *madness,* as the word is in St. Peter: or perhaps (which is the most probable of all) he might be greatly disturbed and astonished, as (3) Josephus affirms he was, and yet

(3) Antiq. Jud. Lib. 4. Cap. 6. Sect. 2. ταραττομενω δ' αυτω δια την της ονω φωνην ανθρωπινην ουσαν, κ. τ. λ. Dum vero ille voce humana asinæ attonitus turbatusque, &c. [But while he was astonished and confounded by the ass addressing him in a human voice, &c.] P. 153. Edit. Hudson.

Moses in his short history might omit this circumstance. The miracle was by no means needless or superfluous; it was very proper to convince Balaam, that the mouth and tongue were under God's direction, and that the same divine power which caused the dumb ass to speak contrary to its nature, could make him in like manner utter blessings contrary to his inclination. And accordingly he was over-ruled to bless the people, tho' he came prepared and disposed to curse them, which according to (4) Bochart was the greater miracle of the two, for the ass was merely passive, but Balaam resisted the good motions of God. We may be the more certain that he was influenced to speak contrary to his inclination, because after he had done prophesying, though he had been ordered in anger to depart and *flee to his place;* (Numb. xxiv. 10, 11.) yet he had the meanness to stay, and gave that wicked counsel, whereby the people were inticed *to commit whoredom with the daughters of Moab,* and *twenty and four thousand died in the plague.* (Numb. xv.)

This miracle then was a proper sign to Balaam, and had a proper effect; and we may the more easily believe it, when we find Balaam afterwards inspired with such knowlege of futurity. It was not more above the natural capacity of the ass to speak, than it was above the natural capacity of Balaam to foretel so many distant events. The prophecies render the miracle more credible; and we shall have less reason to doubt of the one, when we

(4) *Rabba* in *Numeros* Sect. 20. Deum asserit os asinæ ideo aperuisse, *ut* Balaamum *doceret, os, et linguam penes se esse, udoque os ipsius* Balaami, *si quæreret* Israeli *maledicere.* Et vero id docuit eventus, cum *Balaam* iis ipsis invitus benedixit, quibus maledicturus tanto apparatu venerat, non minore oraculo, aut etiam majore, quam cum asina locuta est. Asina enim erat merè patiens, sed *Balaam* moventi Deo pro virili obsistebat, ut Saül, cum prophetam egit. Hierozoic. Pars prior. Lib. 2. Cap. 14. [*Rabba* in his twentieth section on the book of Numbers, affirms that God opened the mouth of Balaam's ass, to teach him, that the mouth and the tongue were in his power, and so those of Balaam himself, if he should go about to curse Israel. And indeed, the event itself shewed the same thing, seeing Balaam in spite of all that could be done, blessed the very persons, whom with so much parade he had come to curse. This was even a greater miracle than when the ass spake. For the ass was merely passive, whereas Balaam to the utmost opposed himself to the influences of God, as Saul did when he prophesied.]

see the accomplishment of the others. His predictions are indeed wonderful, whether we consider the matter or the stile; as if the same divine Spirit that inspired his thoughts, had also raised his language. They are called *parables* in the sacred text: *he took up his parable and said.* The same word is used after the same manner in the book of Job, (xxvii. 1. xxxix. 1.) *Moreover Job continued his* parable, *and said.* It is commonly translated *parable* or *proverb.* Le Clerc translates it *figuratum orationem:* and thereby is meant a weighty and solemn speech delivered in figurative and majestic language. Such, remarkably such (5) are the prophecies

(5) See to this purpose Mr. Lowth's poetical Prælections, particularly Prælect. 4. p. 41. Prælect. 18. p. 173, and his ingenious version of part of Balaam's prophecies into Latin verse, Prælect. 20. p. 206. The learned reader will not be displeased to see it here

Tuis, Jacobe, quantus est castris decor!
Tuisque signis, Israel!
Ut rigua vallis fertilem pandens sinum;
Horti ut scatentes rivulis;
Sacris Edenæ costi ut in sylvis virent,
Cedrique propter flumina.
Illi uda multo rore stillant germina,
Fætusque alunt juges aquæ.
Sancti usque fines promovebit imperi
Rex usque victor hostium.
Illum subacto duxit ab Nilo Deus,
Novis superbum viribus,
Qualis remotis liber in jugis oryx
Fert celsa cœlo cornua.
Vorabit hostes; ossa franget; irritas
Lacerabit hastas dentibus.
Ut Leo, recumbit; ut leæna, decubat;
Quis audeat lacessere?
Quæ quisque tibi precabitur, ferat bona!
Mala quæ precabitur, luat!

["In proud array thy tents expand,
O Israel, o'er the subject land:
As the broad vales in prospect rise,
As gardens by the waters spread;
As cedars of majestic size,
That shade the sacred fountain's head.

Thy torrents shall the earth o'erflow,
O'erwhelming each obdurate foe.
In vain the mind essays to trace
The glories of thy countless race;
In vain thy king's imperial state
Shall haughty Agag emulate.

or parables of Balaam. You cannot peruse them without being struck with the beauty of them. You will perceive uncommon force and energy, if you read them only in our English translation. We shall select only such parts as are more immediately relative to the design of these discourses.

After he had offered his first sacrifice, (Numb. xxiii.) he went to seek the Lord, and at his return he declared among other things, *Lo the people shall dwell alone, and shall not be reckoned among the nations.* (ver. 9.) And how could Balaam upon a distant view only of a people, whom he had never seen or known before, have discovered the genius and manners not only of the people then living, but of their posterity to the latest generations? What renders it more extraordinary is the singularity of the character, that they should differ from all the people in the world, and should dwell by themselves among the nations, without mixing and incorporating with any. The time too when this was affirmed increases the wonder, it being before the people were well known in the world, before their religion and government were established, and even before they had obtained a settlement any where. But yet that the character was fully verified in the event, not only all history testifies, but we have even ocular demonstration at this day. The Jews in their religion and laws, their rites and ceremonies, their manners and customs, were so totally different from all other nations, that they had

His mighty God's protecting hand,
Led him from Pharaoh's tyrant land.
Strong as the beast that rules the plain,
What power his fury shall restrain?
Who dares resist, his force shall feel,
The nations see, and trembling fly,
Or in th' unequal conflict die;
And glut with blood his thirsty steel.

With aspect keen he marked his prey,—
He couch'd—In secret ambush lay.—
Who shall the furious lion dare?
Who shall unmov'd his terrors see?
—Blest, who for thee exalts his prayer!
And curst the wretch who curseth thee!"]

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little intercourse or communion with them. An (6) eminent author hath shown, that there was a general intercommunity amongst the gods of Paganism; but no such thing was allowed between the God of Israel and the gods of the nations. There was to be no fellowship between God and Belial, tho' there might be between Belial and Dagon. And hence the Jews were branded for their inhumanity and unsociableness; and they as generally hated, as they were hated by the rest of mankind. Other nations, the conquerors and the conquered, have often associated and united as one body under the same laws; but the Jews in their captivities have commonly been more bigotted to their own religion, and more tenacious of their own rites and customs, than at other times. And even now, while they are dispersed among all nations, they yet live distinct and separate from all, trading only with others, but eating, marrying and conversing chiefly among themselves. We see therefore how exactly and wonderfully Balaam characterized the whole race from the first to the last, when he said, *Lo, the people shall dwell alone, and shall not be reckoned among the nations.* In the conclusion too when he poured forth that passionate wish, *Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his,* (ver. 10.) he had in all probability some forebodings of his own coming to an untimely end, as he really did afterwards, being slain with the five kings of Midian by the sword of Israel. (Numb. xxxi. 8.)

After the second sacrifice he said among other things, (Numb. xxiii 24.) *Behold, the people shall rise up as a great lion, and lift up himself as a young lion: he shall not lie down until he eat of the prey, and drink of the blood of the slain:* and again to the same purpose after the third sacrifice, (xxiv. 8, 9.) *He shall eat up the nations his enemies, and shall break their bones, and pierce them thro' with his arrows: He couched, he lay down as a lion, and as a great lion; who shall stir him up? Blessed is he that blesseth thee, and cursed is he that curseth thee.* Which

(6) See the Divine Legation of Moses. Book 2. Sect. 6. and Book 5. Sect. 2.

passages are a manifest prophecy of the victories which the Israelites should gain over their enemies, and particularly the Canaanites, and of their secure possession and quiet enjoyment of the land afterwards, and particularly in the reigns of David and Solomon. It is remarkable too, that God hath here put into the mouth of Balaam much the same things which Jacob had before predicted of Judah, (Gen. xlix. 9.) *Judah is a lion's whelp; from the prey, my son thou art gone up: he stooped down, he couched as a lion, and as an old lion; who shall rouse him up?* and Isaac had predicted of Jacob, (Gen. xxvii. 29.) *Cursed be every one that curseth thee, and blessed be he that blesseth thee:* there is such analogy and harmony between the prophecies of scripture.

At the same time Balaam declared, (ver. 7.) *His king shall be higher than Agag, and his kingdom shall be exalted.* Some copies have *Gog* instead of *Agag*, which reading is embraced by the (7) authors of the Universal History, who say that "as the Samaritan, Septuagint, "Syriac, and Arabic read *Gog* instead of *Agag*, and "*Gog* doth generally signify the Scythians and northern "nations, several interpreters have preferred this latter "reading to the first, and not without good grounds." But it is a mistake to say, that the Syriac and Arabic read *Gog*: it is found only in the (8) Samaritan and the Septuagint, and in Symmachus according to Grotius: the (9) Syriac and Arabic have *Agag* as well as

(7) See Universal History, Book I. Chap. VII. Sect. 2. Vol. I. p. 534. Fol. Edit. note Y.

(8) Extolleturque præ Gog rex ejus. [And his king shall be exalted above Gog.] Samar.

Και ὑψωθησεται η Γωγ βασιλεια. [And the kingdom of Gog shall be exalted.] Sept.

ὑψωθησεται ὑπερ Γωγ βασιλευς αὐτε. [And his kingdom shall be exalted above Gog.] Symm. apud Grot.

(9) Extolletur præ Agag rege, et exaltabitur regnum. [He shall be extolled above king Agag, and his kingdom shall be exalted.] Syr.

Exaltabitur plusquam Agag rex ejus, et extolletur regnum ejus. [More than Agag shall his king be exalted, and his kingdom shall be extolled.] Arab.

Roborabitur magis quam Agag rex ejus, et elevabitur regnum illius. [His king shall be strengthened more than Agag, and his kingdom shall be lifted up.] Onk.

Tolletur propter Agag rex ejus, et auferetur regnum illius. [His king shall be taken away for the sake of Agag, and his kingdom shall be removed.] Vulg.

the Targum of Onkelos and the Vulgate, tho' this latter with a different sense and construction of the words. Neither have we any account that *Gog* was a famous king at that time, and much less that the king of Israel was ever exalted above him; and indeed the Scythians and northern nations lay too remote to be the proper subject of a comparison. The reading of the Hebrew copies, *his king shall be higher than Agag*, is without doubt the true reading: and we must either suppose that *Agag* was prophesied of by name particularly, as Cyrus and Josiah were several years before they were born: or we must say with (1) Moses Gerundensis, a learned rabbi quoted by Munster, that Agag was the general name of the kings of Amalek, which appears very probable, it being the custom of those times and of those countries to give one certain name to all their kings, as *Pharaoh* was the general names of the kings of Egypt, and *Abimelech* for the kings of the Philistines. Amalek too was a neighbouring country, and therefore is fitly introduced upon the present occasion: and it was likewise at that time a great and florishing kingdom, for (in ver. 20.) it is stiled *the first of the nations;* and therefore for the king of Israel to be exalted above the king of Amalek was really a wonderful exaltation. But wonderful as it was, it was accomplished by Saul, who *smote the Amalekites from Havilah, until thou comest to Shur, that is over against Egypt: and he took Agag the king of the Amalekites alive, and utterly destroyed all the people with the edge of the sword.* (1 Sam. xv. 7, 8.) The first king of Israel subdued Agag the king of the Amalekites, so that it might truly and properly be said, *his king shall be higher than Agag, and his kingdom shall be exalted,* as it was afterwards greatly by David and Solomon.

His latter prophecies Balaam ushers in with a remark-

(1) Et secundum Mosen Gerundensem, quilibet rex Amalekitarum fuit vocatus *Agag*, transitque primi regis nomen in omnes posteros solium regni occupantes; sicut a Cæsare primo omnes Romanorum reges *Cæsares* appellantur. [And according to Moses Gerundensis, every king of the Amalekites was named *Agag*. And the name of the first king was transferred to all that succeeded him in the throne of the kingdom; as from the first Cæsar all the Roman emperors were called *Cæsars*.] Munsterus.

able preface. *Balaam the son of Beor hath said, and the man whose eyes are open, hath said; He hath said, which heard the words of God, which saw the vision of the Almighty, falling into a trance, but having his eyes open.* (ver. 3, 4, and 15, 16.) Which hath occasioned much perplexity and confusion, but the words rightly rendered will admit of an easy interpretation. *Balaam the son of Beor hath said, and the man whose eyes are open hath said:* It should be *the man whose eye was shut:* for the word שתם *shatam* is used only here and in Lamentations, (iii. 8.) and there it signifies to *shut:* and the word סתם *satam* which is very near of kin to it, I think, hath always that signification. St. Jerome translates it *cujus obturatus est oculus:* and in the margin of our bibles it is rendered *who had his eyes shut,* but with this addition, *but now open.* It plainly alludes to Balaam's not seeing the angel of the Lord, at the same time that the ass saw him. *He hath said, which heard the words of God, which saw the vision of the Almighty;* for in this story we read several times, *that God came unto Balaam and said unto him;* and possibly he might allude to former revelations. *Falling into a trance but having his eyes open;* in the original there is no mention of *a trance;* the passage should be rendered, *falling and his eyes were opened,* alluding to what happened in the way to Balaam's falling with his falling ass, and then having his eyes opened: *And when the ass saw the angel of the Lord she fell down under Balaam—Then the Lord opened the eyes of Balaam, and he saw the angel of the Lord standing in the way, and his sword drawn in his hand; and he bowed down his head, and fell flat on his face.* (xxii. 27, &c.) A contrast is intended between having his eyes *shut,* and having his eyes *opened;* the one answers to the other. The design of this preface was to excite attention: and so Balaam proceeds to *advertise* Balak *what this people shall do to his people in the latter days,* by which phrase is meant the time to come, be it more or less remote.

He begins with what more immediately concerns the Moabites, the people to whom he is speaking, (ver. 17, 18, 19.) *I shall see him, but not now; I shall behold him, but not nigh:* or rather. *I see him, but not now; I behold*

him but not nigh ; the future tense in Hebrew being often used for the present. He saw with the eyes of prophecy, and prophets are emphatically stiled *seers*. *There shall come a star out of Jacob, and a scepter shall rise out of Israel.* The *star* and the *scepter* are probably metaphors borrowed from the ancient hieroglyphics, which much influenced the language of the east: and they evidently denote some eminent and illustrious king or ruler, whom he particularizes in the following words. *And he shall smite the corners of Moab*, or *the princes of Moab* according to other versions. This was executed by David, for *he smote Moab, and measured them with a line, casting them down to the ground: even with two lines measured he, to put to death ; and with one full line to keep alive :* that is he destroyed two thirds, and saved one third alive: *and so the Moabites became David's servants, and brought gifts.* (2 Sam. viii. 2.)

And destroy all the children of Sheth. If by *Sheth* was meant the son of Adam, then *all the children of Sheth* are all mankind, the posterity of Cain and Adam's other sons having all perished in the deluge, and the line only of Sheth having been preserved in Noah and his family: but it is very harsh to say that any king of Israel would *destroy* all mankind, and therefore the (2) Syriac and Chaldee soften it, that he shall *subdue* all the sons of Sheth, and *rule over* all the sons of men. The word occurs only in this place, and in Isaiah (xxii. 5.) where it is used in the sense of *breaking down* or *destroying:* and as particular places, Moab and Edom, are mentioned both before and after; so it is reasonable to conclude that not all mankind in general, but some particular persons were intended by the expression of *the sons of Sheth.* The (3) Jerusalem Targum translates it *the sons of the east,* the Moabites lying east of Judæa.

(2) Et subjugabit omnes filios Seth. [And he shall subdue all the children of Seth.] Syr.

Et dominabitur omnium filiorum hominum. [And he shall rule over all the children of men.] Chald.

(3) Hinc Jerosolim. Paraphrastes *filios orientis* vertit. Moabitæ enim erant ad ortum Judeæ. [Hence the Jerusalem paraphrast rendereth it the sons of the east. For the Moabites dwelt on the east of Judea.] Le Clerc.

Rabbi Nathan (4) says that *Sheth* is the name of a city in the border of Moab. Grotius (5) imagins *Sheth* to be the name of some famous king among the Moabites. Our Poole, who is a judicious and useful commentator, says that *Sheth* "seems to be the name of some then "eminent, though now unknown, place or prince in "Moab, where there were many princes, as appears "from Numb. xxiii. 6. Amos ii. 3: there being innume-"rable instances of such places or persons sometimes "famous, but now utterly lost as to all monuments and "remembrances of them." Vitringa in his commentary upon Isaiah, (6) conceives that the Idumeans were intended, the word *Sheth* signifying *a foundation* or *fortified place*, because they trusted greatly in their castles and fortifications. But the Idumeans are mentioned afterwards; and it is probable that as two hemistichs relate to them, two also relate to the Moabites; and the reason of the appellation assigned by Vitringa is as proper to the Moabites as to the Idumeans. It is common in the stile of the Hebrews, and especially in the poetic parts of scripture, and we may observe it particularly in these prophecies of Balaam, that the same thing in effect is repeated in other words, and the latter member of each period is exegetical of the former, as in the passage before us; *I see him, but not now; I behold him, but not nigh:* and then again, *there shall come a star out of Jacob,*

(4) R. Nathan dicit *Seth* nomen urbis esse in termino Moab. Vide Liram. [Rabbi Nathan saith, that Seth was a city in the confines of Moab. See Lira.] Drusius.

(5) Nihil vero propius quam *Seth* nominatum fuisse regem aliquem eximium inter Moabitas. [Nothing is more probable, than that Seth was the name of some distinguished king among the Moabites.] Grot.

(6) Non desisto ab hac sententia, vocem קרקר *karkar* in verbis Bileami certo significare *destructionem, eversionem, vastationem*; etsi hæream in phrasi בני שת *filiorum Seth*, per quos secundum circumstantias loci intelligi puto Idumæos, voce שת appellative sumptâ pro *fundamento*, sive *loco munito*, quod illi maxime arcibus ac munimentis suis fiderent. [I am fully persuaded that the word קרקר 'karkar,' in the speech of Balaam, signifies, *destruction, overthrow, devastation*, but I am in some doubt about the phrase, *the children of Seth*, whom from the circumstances of the place, I imagin to have been Idumeans: the word Seth, being understood appellatively, as signifying *a foundation* or *fortified place*, because the Idumeans placed the greatest trust in their castles and fortifications.] Vitring. in Jesaiam. Cap. 22. ver 5. p. 641. Vol. I.

and a scepter shall rise out of Israel: and again afterwards, *And Edom shall be a possession, Seir also shall be a possession for his enemies.* There is great reason therefore to think, that the same manner of speaking was continued here, and consequently that *Sheth* must be the name of some eminent place or person among the Moabites; *and shall smite the princes of Moab, and destroy all the sons of Sheth.*

And Edom shall be a possession. This also was fulfilled by David; for *he put garrisons in Edom; throughout all Edom put he garrisons, and all they of Edom became David's servants.* (2 Sam. viii. 14.) David himself in two of his psalms hath mentioned together his conquest of Moab and Edom, as they are also joined together in this prophecy; *Moab is my wash-pot, over Edom will I cast out my shoe.* (Psal. lx. 8. cviii. 9.) *Seir also shall be a possession for his enemies,* that is for the Israelites. *Seir* is the name of the mountains of Edom, so that even their mountains and fastnesses could not defend the Idumeans from David and his captains. *And Israel shall do valiantly,* as they did particularly under the command of David, several of whose victories are recorded in this same 8th chapter of the 2d book of Samuel, together with his conquest of Moab and of Edom. *Out of Jacob shall come he that shall have dominion, and shall destroy him that remaineth of the city;* not only to defeat them in the field, but destroy them even in their strongest cities, or perhaps some particular city was intended, as we may infer from Psal. lx. 9. cviii. 10. *Who will bring me into the strong city? who will lead me into Edom?* And we read particularly that Joab, David's general, *smote every male in Edom: for six months did Joab remain there with all Israel, until he had cut off every male in Edom.* (1 Kings xi. 15, 16.)

We see how exactly this prophecy hath been fulfilled in the person and actions of David: but most Jewish as well as Christian writers apply it, primarily perhaps to David, but ultimately to the Messiah, as the person chiefly intended, in whom it was to receive its full and entire completion. Onkelos, who is the most ancient and valuable of the Chaldee paraphrasts, interprets it of the

Messiah. 'When a prince, (7) says he, shall arise of 'the house of Jacob, and Christ shall be anointed of 'the house of Israel, he shall both slay the princes of 'Moab, and rule over all the sons of men:' and with him agree the other Targums or paraphrases. Maimonides, who is one of the most learned and famous of the Jewish doctors, understands it partly of David, and partly of the Messiah: and with him agree other rabbies, whom you may find cited by the critics and commentators to this purpose. It appears to have been generally understood by the Jews, as a prophecy of the Messiah, because the false Christ, who appeared in the reign of the Roman emperor Adrian, (8) assumed the title of *Barchochebas* or *the son of the star*, in allusion to this prophecy, and in order to have it believed that he was the star whom Balaam had seen afar off. The Christian fathers, I think, are unanimous in applying this prophecy to our Saviour, and to the star which appeared at his nativity. Origen in particular saith, that (9) in the law there are many typical and enigmatical references to the Messiah: but he produceth this as one of the plainest and clearest of prophecies: and both (1) Origen and Eusebius affirm, that it was in consequence of Balaam's prophecies, which were known and believed in the east, that the Magi, upon the appearance of a new star, came to Jerusalem to worship him who was born king of the Jews. The stream of modern divines and commentators runneth the same way, that is they apply the pro-

(7) Cum consurget rex de domo Jacob, et ungetur Christus de domo Israel; et occidet principes Moab, et dominabitur omnium filiorum hominum. [Translated in the text.] Onk.

(8) See Basnage's Hist. of the Jews, Book 6. Chap. 9. Sect. 12.

(9) τυπικως μεν ȣν και αινιγματωδως αναφερομενα εις τον χριστον των αναγεγραμμενων εν τῳ νομῳ πλειστω ὁσα εστι ευρειν. γυμνοτερα δε και σαφεστερα εγω ȣχ ὁρω επι τȣ παροντος αλλα τινα παρα ταυτα. Quamobrem quam plurima invenire licet scripta in lege tum typice, tum obscure, quæ referantur ad Christum. Apertiora vero alia, et manifestiora præter hæc, ego in præsentia non video. [Wherefore, although in the law, there may be found many things which typically and enigmatically have a reference to Christ, yet at present, I see none, which more plainly and manifestly have an allusion to him, than the one now before us.].

(1) Orig. contr. Cels. Lib. 1. Sect. 60. p. 374. Vol. I. In Numeros Hom. 13. Sect. 7. p. 321. Vol. 2. Edict. Benedict. Eusebii Demonstrat. Evangel Lib. 9. Sect. 1. p. 417. Edit. Paris. 1628.

phecy principally to our Saviour, and by *Moab* and *Edom* understand the enemies and persecutors of the church. And it must be acknowledged in favor of this opinion, that many prophecies of scripture have a double meaning, litteral and mystical, respect two events, and receive a two-fold completion. David too was in several things a type and figure of the Messiah. If by *destroying all the children of Sheth* be meant *ruling over all mankind*, this was never fulfilled in David. A star did really appear at our Saviour's nativity, and in Scripture he is stiled the *day-star*, (2 Pet. i. 19.) *the morning-star*, (Rev. ii. 28.) *the bright and morning-star*, (xxii. 16.) perhaps in allusion to this very prophecy. Dr. Warburton, who improves every subject that he handles, assigns a farther reason. Speaking of the two sorts of metaphor in the ancient use of it, the popular and common, and the hidden and mysterious; he (2) says that "the prophetic writings are full of this kind of metaphor. To instance only in the famous prediction of Balaam—"*there shall come a star out of Jacob, and a scepter shall rise out of Israel.* This prophecy may possibly in some sense relate to David, but without doubt it belongs principally to Christ. Here the metaphor of a *scepter* was common and popular to denote a ruler, like David; but the *star*, tho' like the other, it signified in the prophetic writings a temporal prince or ruler, yet had a secret and hidden meaning likewise. A star in the Egyptian hieroglyphics denoted (3) God: (and how much hieroglyphic writing influenced the eastern languages we shall see presently.) Thus God in the prophet Amos, reproving the Israelites for their idolatry on their first coming out of Egypt, says, *Have ye offered unto me sacrifices and offerings in the wilderness forty years, O house of Israel? But ye have borne the tabernacle of your Moloch and Chiun your images*, the star of your God *which ye made to yourselves.* (Amos v. 25, 26.) *The star of your God* is

(2) See the Divine Legation, &c. Book 4, Sect. 4.

(3) Ἀστηρ παρ' Αιγυπτιοις γραφομενος θεον σημαινει. [The picture of a star among the Egyptians, signifies God.] Horapol. Hierog. Lib. 2. Cap. 1.

" here a noble figurative expression to signify *the image*
" *of your God:* for a *star* being employed in the hiero-
" glyphics to signify *God*, it is used here with great ele-
" gance to signify the material image of a God; the
" words *the star of your God* being only a repetition (so
" usual in the Hebrew tongue) of the preceding—*Chiun*
" *your images;* and not (as some critics suppose) the
" same with *your God star, sidus Deum vestrum.* Hence
" we conclude that the metaphor here used by Balaam of
" a *star* was of that abstruse mysterious kind, and so to be
" understood; and consequently that it related only to
" *Christ,* the eternal son of God." Thus far this excellent writer. But though for these reasons the Messiah might be remotely intended, yet we cannot allow that he was intended solely, because David might be called a *star* by Balaam, as well as other rulers or governors are by Daniel, (viii. 10.) and by St. John: (Rev. i. 20.) and we must insist upon it, that the primary intention, the litteral meaning of the prophecy respects the person and actions of David; and for this reason particularly, because Balaam is here advertising Balak, *What this people should do to his people in the latter days,* that is, what the Israelites should do to the Moabites hereafter.

From the Moabites he turned his eyes more to the south and west, and *looked* on their neighbours, the Amalekites; and *took up his parable and said,* (ver. 20.) *Amalek was the first of the nations, but his latter end shall be that he perish for ever. Amalek was the first of the nations,* the first and most powerful of the neighbouring nations, or the first that warred against Israel, as it is in the margin of our bibles. The latter interpretation is proposed by (4) Onkelos and other Jews, I suppose because they would not allow the Amalekites to be a more ancient nation than themselves: but most good critics prefer the former interpretation as more easy and natural, and for a very good reason, because the Amalekites appear to have been a very ancient nation. They are rec-

(4) Principium bellorum Israel fuit Amaleeb. [Amalek was the first that warred against Israel.] Onk.

koned among the most ancient nations thereabouts. (1 Sam. xxvii. 8.)—*the Geshurites, and the Gezrites, and the Amalekites; for these nations were of old the inhabitants of the land, as thou goest to Shur, even unto the land of Egypt.* They are mentioned as early as in the wars of Chedorlaomer: (Gen. xiv. 7.) so that they must have been a nation before the times of Abraham and Lot, and consequently much older than the Moabites, or Edomites, or any of the nations descended from those patriarchs. And this is a demonstrative argument, that the Amalekites did not descend from Amalek, the son of Eliphaz and grandson of Esau, as many have supposed only for the similitude of names; (Gen. xxxvi. 12.) but sprung from some other stock, and probably, as the Arabian writers affirm, from Amalek or Amlak, the son of Ham and grandson of Noah. *Amlak* et *Amlik*, fils de Cham, fils de Noé—C'est celuy que les Hebreux appellent Amalec pere des Amalecites: so saith Herbelot; but it is to be wished that this valuable and useful author had cited his authorities. According to the (5) Arabian historians too, they were a great and powerful nation, subdued Egypt, and held it in subjection several years. They must certainly have been more powerful, or at least more courageous, than the neighbouring nations, because they ventured to attack the Israelites, of whom the other nations were afraid. But though they were the first, the most ancient and powerful of the neighbouring nations; yet *their latter end shall be that they perish for ever.* Here Balaam unwittingly confirms what God had before denounced by Moses, (Exod. xvii. 14.) *And the Lord said unto Moses, Write this for a memorial in a book, and rehearse it in the ears of Joshua, for I will* (or rather *that I will*) *utterly put out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven.* Balaam had before declared, that the king of Israel should prevail over the king of Amalek; but here the menace is carried farther, and Amalek is consigned to utter destruction. This sentence was in great measure executed by Saul, who *smote*

(5) See Univers. Hist. Book 1. Chap. 3. p. 281. Folio Edit. Vol. 1.

the Amalekites, and utterly destroyed all the people with the edge of the sword. (1 Sam. xv. 7, 8.) When they had recovered a little, *David and his men went up and invaded them; and David smote the land, and left neither man nor woman alive, and took away the sheep and the oxen, and the asses, and the camels, and the apparel.* (1 Sam. xxvii. 8, 9.) David made a farther slaughter and conquest of them at Ziglag: (1 Sam. xxx.) and at last *the sons of Simeon, in the days of Hezekiah king of Judah, smote the rest of the Amalekites that were escaped, and dwelt in their habitations.* (1 Chron. iv. 41, 42, 43.) And where is the name or the nation of Amalek subsisting at this day? What history, what tradition concerning them is remaining any where? They are but just enough known and remembered to show, that what God had threatened he had punctually fulfilled; *I will utterly put out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven; and his latter end shall be that he perish for ever.*

Then *he looked on the Kenites: and took up his parable, and said* (ver. 21, 22.) *Strong is thy dwelling place, and thou puttest thy nest in a rock. Nevertheless the Kenite shall be wasted, until Asshur shall carry thee away captive.* Commentators are perplexed, and much at loss to say with any certainty who *these Kenites* were. There are *Kenites* mentioned (Gen xv. 19.) among the Canaanitish nations, whose land was promised unto Abraham; and (6) Le Clerc imagines that *those Kenites* were the people here intended: But the Canaanitish nations are not the subject of Balaam's prophecies; and the Canaanitish nations were to be rooted out, but *these Kenites* were to continue as long as the Israelites themselves, and to be carried captive with them by the Assyrians; and in the opinion of (7) Bochart, *those Kenites* as well as the

(6) Hic antiquiores illi Kenæi intelligendi. Le Clerc in locum. [Here these more ancient Kenites are to be understood. See Le Clerc on the passage.]

(7) Horum ego nomen deletum fuisse putaverim in eo temporis intervallo, quod inter Abrahami et Mosis ævum intercessit. Id certe necesse est, in obscuro latuisse tempore Josuæ, qui nec in divisione terræ, nec in censu gentium a se devictarum illorum meminit uspiam. [I am of opinion, that their names perished in the period, which intervened between the times of Abra-

Kenizzites became extinct in the interval of time which passed between Abraham and Moses, being not mentioned by Joshua in the division of the land, nor reckoned among the nations conquered by him. The most probable account of *these Kenites* I conceive to be this. Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses, is called in one place *the priest of Midian.* (Exod. iii. 1.) and in another *the Kenite.* (Judg. i. 16.) We may infer therefore, that the *Midianites* and the *Kenites* were the same, or at least that the *Kenites* were some of the tribes of Midian. The Midianites are said to be confederates with the Moabites in the beginning of the story, and the elders of Midian as well as the elders of Moab invited Balaam to come and curse Israel; and one would naturally expect some notice to be taken of them or their tribes in the course of these prophecies. Now of the Kenites, it appears, that part followed Israel: (Judg. i. 16.) but the greater part we may presume, remained among the Midianites and Amalekites. We read in (1 Sam. xv. 6.) that there were Kenites dwelling among the Amalekites, and so the Kenites are fitly mentioned here next after the Amalekites. Their situation is said to be strong and secure among the mountains. *Strong is thy dwelling place, and thou puttest thy nest in a rock;* wherein is an allusion to the name, the same word in Hebrew signifying a *nest* and a *Kenite. Nevertheless the Kenite shall be wasted, until Asshur carry thee away captive.* The Amalekites were to be utterly destroyed, but the Kenites were to be carried captive. And accordingly, when Saul was sent by divine commission to destroy the Amalekites, he ordered the Kenites to depart from among them. (1 Sam. xv. 6.) *And Saul said unto the Kenites, Go depart, get you down from among the Amalekites, lest I destroy you with them: for ye shewed kindness to all the children of Israel when they came up out of Egypt;* for the kindness which some of them shewed to Israel, their posterity was saved. *So*

ham and of Moses. This however is certain, that their name lay in oblivion in the time of Joshua, who neither in his division of the land, nor in his enumeration of the nations subdued by the Israelites, any where makes mention of it.] Phaleg. Lib. 4. Cap. 36. Col. 397.

the Kenites departed from among the Amalekites. This showeth that they were *wasted,* and reduced to a low and weak condition; and as the kings of Assyria carried captive not only the Jews, but also the Syrians (2 Kings xvi. 9.) and several other nations; (2 Kings xix. 12, 13.) it is most highly probable that the Kenites shared the same fate with their neighbours, and were carried away by the same torrent; and especially as we find some Kenites mentioned among the Jews after their return from captivity. (1 Chron. ii. 55)

The next verse, (ver. 23.) *And he took up his parable, and said, Alas, who shall live when God doeth this!* is by several commentators referred to what precedes; but it relates rather to what follows. *And he took up his parable, and said:* this preface is used, when he enters upon some new subject. *Alas, who shall live when God doeth this!* this exclamation now implies that he is prophesying of very distant and very calamitous times. *And ships,* or rather *for ships,* as the particle ו often signifies, and this instance among others is cited by (8) Noldius. *For ships shall come from the coast of Chittim, and shall afflict Asshur, and shall afflict Eber, and he also shall perish for ever.* (ver. 24.)

Chittim was one of the sons of Javan, who was one of the sons of Japheth, by whose posterity, *the iles of the Gentiles* (Gen. x. 5.) *were divided* and peopled, that is Europe, and the countries to which the Asiatics passed by sea, for such the Hebrews called *ilands. Chittim* is used for the descendents of Chittim, as *Asshur* is put for the descendents of Asshur, that is the Assyrians: but what people were the descendents of *Chittim,* or what country was meant by *the coasts of Chittim,* it is not so easy to determin. The critics and commentators are generally divided into two opinions; the one asserting that Macedonia, and the other that Italy was the country here intended: and each opinion is recommended and authorised by some of the first and greatest names in learning: as not to mention any others, (9) Grotius and Le Clerc

(8) Noldii Part. ו 37.
(9) Grotius in locum et Clericus in locum, et in Genes. x. 4.

contend for the former, (1) Bochart and Vitringa are strenuous for the latter. But there is no reason why we may not adopt both opinions, and especially as it is very well known and agreed on all hands, that colonies came from Greece to Italy; and as (2) Josephus saith, that all ilands and most maritim places are called *Chethim* by the Hebrews; and as manifest traces of the name are to be found in both countries; the ancient name of Macedonia having been (3) *Macettia*, and the Latins having before been called *Ceti* What appears most probable is, that the sons of Chittim settled first in Asia Minor, where were a people called *Cetëi*, and a river called *Cetium*, according to (4) Homer and Strabo. From Asia they might pass over into the iland Cyprus, which (5) Josephus saith was possessed by *Chethim*, and called *Chethima*; and where was also the city *Cittium*, famous for being the birth-place of Zeno, the founder of the sect of the Stoics, who was therefore called the *Cittican*. And from thence they might send forth colonies into Greece and Italy. This plainly appears, that wherever the *land of Chittim* or the *iles of Chittim* are mentioned in scripture, there are evidently meant some countries or ilands in the Mediterranean.

Isaiah prophesying of the destruction of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar, saith (xxiii. 1.) *Howl, ye ships of Tarshish*, that is the ships trading from Tyre to Tartessus in Spain; *for* Tyre *is laid waste: from the land of Chittim it is revealed to them*; the news is brought first to the countries and ilands in the Mediterranean, and from thence it is conveyed to Spain; and afterwards, (ver. 12.) *Arise,*

(1) Bocharti Phaleg. Lib. 3. cap. 5. et Vitringa in Icsaiam. xxiii. 1.

(2) και απ' αυτης νησοι τι πασαι, και τα πλειω των παρα θαλασσαν, χιθιμ υπο Ελληνων ονομαζεσθαι. Et ab ea [Chethima] insulæ omnes, et pleraque loca maritima ab Hebræis Chethim dicuntur. [Translated in the text.] Antiq. Lib. 1. Cap. 6. p. 17. Edit. Hudson. Vol. I.

(3) Vide Bochartum ibid.

(4) Homer. Odyss. XI. 520. et Scholiast. ibid. Strabo Geograph. Lib. 13. p. 915, 916. Vol. 2. Edit. Amstel. 1707.

(5) Χεθιμος δε Κεθιμα την νησον ισχει. Κυπρος δυν νυν καλειται. Chethimus autem Chetimam insulam occupavit; ipsa vero nunc Cyprus vocatur. [But Chethim possessed the island of Chethima, which is now called Cyprus.] Josephus ibid.

pass over to Chittim, there also shalt thou have no rest; the inhabitants might fly from Tyre, and pass over to the countries and ilands in the Mediterranean, but even there they should find no secure place of refuge; God's judgments should still pursue them. Jeremiah expostulating with the Jews concerning their causeless revolt, saith (ii. 10.) *Pass over to the iles of Chittim, and see,* that is the iles of the Mediterranean which lay westward of Judea; *and send unto Kedar,* which was in Arabia and lay eastward of Judea; *and consider diligently, and see if there be such a thing;* go search east and west, and see if you can find any such instance of apostasy as this of the Jews. Ezekiel describing the luxury of the Tyrians even in their shipping, saith (xxvii. 6.) according to the (6) true reading and interpretation of the words, *they made their benches of ivory inlaid on box, brought out of the iles of Chittim,* that is out of the iles of the Mediterranean, and most probably from Corsica, which was famous above all places for box, as Bochart hath proved by the testimonies of Pliny, Theophrastus, and Diodorus. Daniel foretelling the exploits of Antiochus Epiphanes, saith (xi. 29, 30.) that he should *come towards the south,* that is invade Egypt; *but the ships of Chittim shall come against him, therefore he shall be grieved and return;* the *ships of Chittim* can be none other than the ships of the Romans, whose (7) embassadors coming from Italy to Greece, and from thence to Alexandria, obliged Antiochus, to his great grief and disappointment, to depart from Egypt without accomplishing his designs. The author of the first book of Maccabees, speaking of *Alexander son of Philip the Macedonian,* saith (i. 1.) that he *came out of the land of Chettiim:* and afterwards (viii. 5.) *Perseus,* the last king of Macedon, he calleth *king of the Cittims.* By these instances it appears, that *the land of Chittim* was a general name for the countries and ilands in the Mediterranean: and therefore when Balaam said that *ships should come from the coast of Chittim,* he might

(6) Bochart ibid. et Hierozoic. Pars prior. Lib. 2. Cap. 24.
(7) Vide Livii Lib. 45. Cap. 10, 11, 12. Polyb. Legat. p. 915, 916. Edit. Casaubon,

mean either Greece, or Italy, or both, the particular names of those countries being at that time perhaps unknown in the east: and the passage may be the better understood of both, because it was equally true of both, and Greece and Italy were alike the scourges of Asia.

And shall afflict Asshur. *Asshur*, as we noted before, signifies properly the descendents of Asshur, the Assyrians: but (8) their name was of as large extent as their empire, and the Syrians and Assyrians are often confounded together, and mentioned as one and the same people. Now it is so well known as to require no particular proof, that the Grecians under the command of Alexander the Great subdued all those countries. The Romans afterwards extended their empire into the same regions; and as (9) Dion informs us, Assyria properly so called was conquered by the emperor Trajan.

And shall afflict Eber. Two interpretations are proposed of the word *Eber*, either the posterity of a man so called, or the people who dwelt on the other side of the river Euphrates. If by *Eber* we understand the posterity of Eber, as by *Asshur* the posterity of Asshur, which appears a very natural construction; then Balaam, who was commissioned to bless Israel at first, prophesied evil concerning them at last, though under another name: but men and manners usually degenerate in a long course of time; and as the virtues of the progenitors might intitle them to a blessing, so the vices of the descendents might render them obnoxious to a curse. However we may avoid this seeming inconsistence, if we follow the other interpretation, and by *Eber* understand the people who dwelt on the other side of the river Euphrates, which sense is given by (1) Onkelos, and is approved by several of the ancients, as well as by many of the most able commentators among the moderns, and is particularly

(8) Tam latè patuit hoc nomen quam latè patuit imperium,—multi veterum Syros et Assyrios pro iisdem habent. [This name extended as widely as their empire.——Many of the ancients consider the Syrians and the Assyrians as the same people.] Bochart. Phaleg. Lib. 2. Cap. 3. Col. 72.

(9) Dionis Hist. Rom. Lib. 68. p. 783. Edit. Leunclav. Hanov. 1606.

(1) Et subjicent trans flumen Ephratem. [And they shall subdue beyond the river Euphrates.] Onk.

enforced by a learned (2) professor of eminent skill in the oriental languages. The two members of the period would then better connect together, and the sense of the latter would be somewhat exegetical of the former; *and shall afflict Asshur and shall afflict Eber*, shall afflict the Assyrians and other neighbouring nations bordering upon the river Euphrates. And this interpretation I would readily embrace, if I could see any instance of a parallel expression. *Beyond the river*, meaning Euphrates, is indeed a phrase that sometimes occurs in scripture, and the concordance will supply us with instances: but where doth *beyond* alone ever bear that signification? I know Gen. x. 21. is usually cited for this purpose; but that text is as much controverted as this, and the question is the same there as here, whether *Eber* be the proper name of a man, or only a preposition signifying *beyond*, and *beyond* signifying the people beyond the river Euphrates: or in other words, whether the passage should be translated *the father of all the children of Eber, or the father of all the children of the people on the other side of the river Euphrates.* Isaiah's manner of speaking of the same people is *by them beyond the river, by the king of Assyria:* (vii. 20.) and one would expect the like here, *shall afflict Asshur, and shall afflict them beyond the river.* But which ever of these interpretations we prefer, the prophecy was alike fulfilled. If we understand it of the people bordering upon the Euphrates, they as well as the Assyrians were subdued both by the Grecians and Romans. If we understand it of the posterity of Eber, the Hebrews were afflicted, though not much by Alexander himself, yet by his successors the Seleucidæ, and particularly by Antiochus Epiphanes, who spoiled Jerusalem, defiled the temple, and slew all those who adhered to the law of Moses. (1 Maccab. i.) They were worse afflicted by the Romans, who not only subdued and oppressed them, and made their country a province of the empire, but at last took away their place and nation, and sold and dispersed them over the face of the earth.

(2) Hyde Hist. Relig. Vet. Pers. Cap. 2. p. 52—57.

And he also shall perish for ever, that is Chittim, who is the main subject of this part of the prophecy, and whose ships were to afflict Asshur, and to afflict Eber: but this notwithstanding *he also shall be even to perdition*, he also shall be destroyed as well as Amalek, for in the original the words are the same concerning both. *He* in the singular number cannot well refer to both *Asshur* and *Eber*. *He* must naturally signify *Chittim* the principal agent: and if by *Chittim* be meant the Grecians, the Grecian empire was entirely subverted by the Roman; if the Romans, the Roman empire was in its turn broken into pieces by the incursion of the northern nations. The name only of the Roman empire and Cæsarean majesty is subsisting at this day, and is transferred to another country and another people.

It appears then that Balaam was a prophet divinely inspired, or he could never have foretold so many distant events, some of which are fulfilling in the world at this time: and what a singular honour was it to the people of Israel, that a prophet called from another country, and at the same time a wicked man, should be obliged to bear testimony to their righteousness and holiness? The commendations of an enemy, among enemies, are commendations indeed. And Moses did justice to himself as well as to his nation in recording these transactions. They are not only a material part of his history, but are likewise a strong confirmation of the truth of his religion. Balaam's bearing witness to Moses is somewhat like Judas's attesting the innocence of Jesus.

VI.

MOSES'S PROPHECY OF A PROPHET LIKE UNTO HIMSELF.

MOSES is a valuable writer, as upon many accounts so particularly upon this, that he hath not only preserved and transmitted to posterity several ancient pro-

phecies, but hath likewise shown himself a prophet, and inserted several predictions of his own. Among these none is more memorable, than that of another prophet to be raised like unto himself. He was now about to leave his people, and comforts them with the promise of another prophet. Deut. xviii. 15. *The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me; unto him ye shall hearken.* The same is repeated at ver. 18, in the name of God, *I will raise them up a prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee, and will put my words in his mouth, and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him.* It is farther added at ver. 19. *And it shall come to pass that whosoever will not hearken unto my words which he shall speak in my name, I will require it of him.* Plain as this prophecy is, it hath strangely been perverted and misapplied: but I conceive nothing will be wanting to the right understanding both of the prophecy and the completion, if we can show first what prophet was here particularly intended, if we show secondly that this prophet resembled Moses in more respects than any other person ever did, and if we show thirdly that the people have been and still are severely punished for their infidelity and disobedience to this prophet.

I. We will endeavour to show what prophet was here particularly intended. Some have been of opinion, (1) that Joshua was the person; because he is said in Ecclesiasticus (xlvi. 1.) to have been *successor of Moses in prophecies:* and as the people were commanded to hearken unto this prophet, *unto him ye shall hearken:* so they said unto Joshua (i. 17.) *According as we hearkened unto Moses in all things, so will we hearken unto thee.* Some again have imagined, (2) that Jeremiah was the person; because he frequently applies (say they) the words of Moses; and Abarbinel in his preface to his commentary upon Jeremiah reckons up fourteen particulars wherein they resemble each other, and observes

(1) See Munster, Drusius, Fagius, Calmet, &c.
(2) See Munster, Fagius, Patrick, Calmet, &c.

that Jeremiah prophesied forty years, as Moses also did. Others, and those many more in number, (3) understand this neither of Joshua, nor of Jeremiah, nor of any single person, but of a succession of prophets to be raised up like unto Moses; because (say they) the people being here forbidden to follow after *inchanters* and *diviners*, as other nations did, nothing would have secured them effectually from following after them, but having true prophets of their own, whom they might consult upon occasion; and the latter are opposed to the former. But still the propounders and favorers of these different opinions, I think, agree generally in this, that though Joshua, or Jeremiah, or a succession of prophets was primarily intended, yet the main end and ultimate scope of the prophecy was the Messiah: and indeed there appear some very good reasons for understanding it of him principally, if not of him solely, besides the preference of a litteral to a typical interpretation.

There is a passage in the conclusion of this book of Deuteronomy, which plainly refers to this prophecy, and entirely refutes the notion of Joshua's being the prophet like unto Moses. *And Joshua the son of Nun was full of the spirit of wisdom; for Moses had laid his hands upon him: and the children of Israel hearkened unto him, and did as the Lord commanded Moses. And there arose not a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face: In all the signs and the wonders which the Lord sent him to do, &c.* We cannot be certain at what time, or by what hand this addition was made to the sacred volume: but it must have been made after the death of Moses; and consequently Joshua was not a prophet like unto Moses in the opinion of the Jewish church, both of those who made and of those who received this addition as canonical scripture. *There arose not a prophet* since in *Israel;* the manner of expression plainly implies, that this addition must have been made at some considerable distance of time after the death of Moses; and consequently the Jewish church had no conception of a perpetual succession of prophets to be raised up like unto

(3) See Fagius, Poole, Le Clerc, Calmet, &c.

Moses: and if this addition was made, as it is commonly believed to have been made, by Ezra after the Babylonish captivity, then it is evident, that neither Jeremiah nor any of the ancient prophets was esteemed like unto Moses. Consider what are the peculiar marks and characters, wherein it is said that none other prophet had ever resembled Moses. *There arose not a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face, in all the signs and the wonders which the Lord sent him to do.* And which of the prophets ever conversed so frequently and familiarly with God, *face to face?* which of them ever wrought so many and so great miracles? No body was ever equal or comparable to Moses in these respects, but Jesus the Messiah.

God's declaration too, upon occasion of Miriam's and Aaron's sedition, plainly evinces that there was to be no prophet in the Jewish church, and much less a succession of prophets like unto Moses. Miriam and Aaron grew jealous of Moses, and mutinied against him, saying, *Hath the Lord indeed spoken only by Moses? hath he not spoken also by us?* (Numb. xii. 2.) The controversy was of such importance, that God himself interposed; and what was his determination of the case? *If there be a prophet among you, I the Lord will make myself known unto him in a vision, and will speak unto him in a dream. My servant Moses is not so, who is faithful in all mine house. With him will I speak mouth to mouth, even apparently, and not in dark speeches; and the similitude of the Lord shall he behold: wherefore then were ye not afraid to speak against my servant Moses?* (ver. 6, 7, 8.) We see here that a great difference was made between Moses and other prophets, and also wherein that difference lay. God revealed himself unto other prophets in *dreams* and *visions,* but with Moses he conversed more openly, *mouth to mouth,* or, as it is said elsewhere, *face to face:* and Moses *saw the similitude of the Lord.* These were singular privileges and prerogatives, which eminently distinguished Moses from all the other prophets of the Jewish dispensation: and yet there was a prophet to be

raised up like unto Moses: but who ever resembled Moses in these superior advantages, but Jesus the Messiah?

It is likewise no inconsiderable argument, that the letter of the text favours our interpretation. The word is in the singular number, *The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet;* and why then should we understand it of a succession of prophets? why should we depart from the litteral construction without any apparent necessity for it? Other nations hearkened unto inchanters and diviners; but the Lord would not suffer them so to do; he had given them a better guide already, and would raise up unto them another prophet superior to all the inchanters and diviners in the world: unto him they should hearken.

Moreover it is implied, that this prophet should be a lawgiver. *A prophet like unto thee;* not simply a prophet, but a prophet like unto Moses, that is a second lawgiver, as (4) Eusebius explains it. The reason too that is assigned for sending this prophet, will evince that he was to be vested with this character. The people had requested, that the divine laws might not be delivered to them in so terrible and awful a manner as they had been in Horeb. God approved their request, and promised therefore, that he would raise up unto them a prophet like unto Moses, a lawgiver who should speak unto them his commands in a familiar and gentle way. This prophet therefore was to be a lawgiver: but none of the Jewish prophets were lawgivers, in all the intermediate time between Moses and Christ.

If we farther appeal unto fact, we shall find that there never was any prophet, and much less a succession of prophets, whom the Jews esteemed like unto Moses. The highest degree of inspiration they term the (5) Mosaical,

(4) Eusebii Demons. Evangel. Lib. 1. Cap. 3. p. 6. Lib. 9. Cap. 11. p. 443. Edit. Paris, 1628.

(5) See Smith's Discourse of Prophecy, Chap. 2, and 11, wherein it is shown from Maimonides, that Moses's inspiration excelled all others in four particulars. 1. All other prophets prophesied in a dream or vision, but Moses waking and standing. 2. All other prophets prophesied by the help or ministry of an angel, but Moses prophesied without the ministry of an angel. 3. All other prophets were afraid, and troubled, and fainted, but Moses was not so, for the scripture saith, that *God spake to him even as a man speaketh to his friend.* 4. None of the prophets did prophesy at what time they would, save Moses.

and enumerate several particulars, wherein that hath the præeminence and advantage above all others. There was indeed, in consequence of this prophecy, a general expectation of some extraordinary prophet to arise, which prevailed particularly about the time of our Saviour. The Jews then, as well as (6) since, understood and applied this prophecy to the Messiah, the only prophet whom they will ever allow to be as great or greater than Moses. When our Saviour had fed five thousand men, by a miracle like that of Moses, who fed the Israelites in the wilderness, then those men said *This is of a truth that prophet that should come into the world.* (John vi. 14.) St. Peter and Stephen directly apply the prophecy to him: (Acts iii. 22, 23. vii. 37.) and they may very well be justified for so doing; for he fully answers all the marks and characters which are here given of the prophet like unto Moses. He had immediate communication with the deity, and God spake to him *face to face,* as he did to Moses. He performed *signs and wonders* as great or greater than those of Moses. He was a *lawgiver* as well as Moses. *I will raise them up a prophet,* saith God; and the people glorified God saying, *That a great prophet is risen up among us.* (Luke vii. 16.) *I will put my words in his mouth,* saith God, in Hebrew will *give* my words; and our Saviour saith, *I have given unto them the words which thou gavest me.* (John xvii. 8.) *He shall speak unto them all that I shall command him,* saith God; and our Saviour saith, *I have not spoken of myself; but the Father which sent me, he gave me a commandment, what I should say, and what I should speak. And I know that his commandment is life everlasting: whatsoever I speak therefore, even as the Father said unto me, so I speak.* (John xii. 49, 50.)

II. We shall be more and more confirmed in this opinion, when we consider the great and striking likeness between Moses and Jesus Christ, and that the latter resembled the former in more respects than any other person ever did. Notice hath been taken already of

(6) See authorities cited in Bishop's Chandler's Defence of Christianity, Chap. 6. Sect. 2. p. 307. Edit. 3d.

some instances, wherein they resemble each other, of God speaking to both *face to face*, of both performing *signs and wonders*, of both being *lawgivers*: and in these respects none of the ancient prophets were like unto Moses. None of them were lawgivers; they only interpreted and inforced the law of Moses. None of them performed so many and so great wonders. None of them had such clear communications with God; they all saw visions, and dreamed dreams. Moses and Jesus Christ are the only two who perfectly resemble each other in these respects. But a more exact and particular comparison may be drawn between them, and hath been drawn by two eminent hands, by one of the best and ablest of the ancient fathers, and by one of the most learned and ingenious of modern divines: and as we cannot pretend to add any thing to them, we must be content to copy from them.

Eusebius treating of the prophecies concerning Christ, (7) produceth first this of Moses: and then asketh, which of the prophets after Moses, Isaiah for instance, or Jeremiah, or Ezekiel, or Daniel, or any other of the twelve, was a lawgiver, and performed things like unto Moses? Moses first rescued the Jewish nation from Egyptian superstition and idolatry, and taught them the true theology; Jesus Christ in like manner was the first teacher of true religion and virtue to the Gentiles. Moses confirmed his religion by miracles; and so likewise did Christ. Moses delivered the Jewish nation from Egyptian servitude; and Jesus Christ all mankind from the power of evil demons. Moses promised a holy land, and therein a happy life to those who kept the law: and Jesus Christ a better country, that is a heavenly, to all righteous souls. Moses fasted forty days: and so likewise did Christ. Moses supplied the people with bread in the wilderness; and our Saviour fed five thousand at one time, and four thousand at another, with a few loaves. Moses went himself, and led the people thro' the midst of the sea; and Jesus Christ walked on the

(7) Eusebii Demons. Evangel. Lib 3. Cap. 2. p. 90—94. Edit. Paris, 1628.

sea, and enabled Peter to walk likewise. Moses stretched out his hand over the sea, and the Lord caused the sea to go backward; and our Saviour rebuked the wind and the sea, and there was a great calm. Moses's face shone, when he descended from the Mount, and our Saviour's did shine as the sun in his transfiguration. Moses by his prayers cured Miriam of her leprosy; and Christ with greater power by a word healed several lepers. Moses performed wonders by the finger of God; and Jesus Christ by the finger of God did cast out devils. Moses changed Oshea's name to Joshua; and our Saviour did Simon's to Peter. Moses constituted seventy rulers over the people; and our Saviour appointed seventy disciples. Moses sent forth twelve men to spy out the land; and our Saviour twelve apostles to visit all nations. Moses gave several excellent moral precepts; and our Saviour carried them to the highest perfection.

Dr. Jortin (8) hath inlarged upon these hints of Eusebius, and made several improvements, and additions to them. Moses in his infancy was wonderfully preserved from the destruction of all the male children; so was Christ. Moses fled from his country to escape the hands of the king; so did Christ, when his parents carried him into Egypt: afterwards *the Lord said to Moses in Midian, Go, return into Egypt; for all the men are dead which sought thy life;* (Exod. iv. 19.) so the angel of the Lord said to Joseph in almost the same words, *Arise, and take the young child, and go into the land of Israel; for they are dead which sought the young child's life;* (Matt. ii. 20.) pointing him out as it were for that prophet who should arise like unto Moses. Moses refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter, choosing rather to suffer affliction. Christ refused to be made king, choosing rather to suffer affliction. Moses, says St. Stephen, *was learned* επαιδευθη, *in all the wisdom of the Egyptians,* and Josephus (Ant. Jud. ii. 9.) says that he was a very forward and accomplished youth, and had wisdom and knowlege

(8) Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, Vol. i. p. 203—232.

beyond his years; St. Luke observes of Christ, that *he increased* (betimes) *in wisdom and stature, and in favor with God and man,* and his discourses in the temple with the doctors, when he was twelve years old, were a proof of it. Moses contended with the magicians, who were forced to acknowlege the divine power by which he was assisted; Christ ejected evil spirits, and received the same acknowlegements from them. Moses was not only a lawgiver, a prophet, and a worker of miracles, but a king and a priest: in all these offices the resemblance between Moses and Christ was singular. Moses brought darkness over the land; the sun withdrew his light at Christ's crucifixion: And as the darkness which was spread over Egypt was followed by the destruction of their first born, and of Pharaoh and his host; so the darkness at Christ's death was the forerunner of the destruction of the Jews. Moses foretold the calamities which would befal the nation for their disobedience; so did Christ. The spirit which was in Moses was conferred in some degree upon the seventy elders, and they prophesied; Christ conferred miraculous powers upon his seventy disciples. Moses was victorious over powerful kings and great nations; so was Christ by the effects of his religion, and by the fall of those who persecuted his church. Moses conquered Amalec by holding up both his hands; Christ overcame his and our enemies when his hands were fastened to the cross. Moses interceded for transgressors, and caused an atonement to be made for them, and stopped the wrath of God, so did Christ. Moses ratified a covenant between God and the people by sprinkling them with blood; Christ with his own blood. Moses desired to die for the people, and prayed that God would forgive them, or blot him out of his book; Christ did more, he died for sinners. Moses instituted the passover, when a lamb was sacrificed, none of whose bones were to be broken, and whose blood protected the people from destruction; Christ was that paschal lamb. Moses lifted up the serpent, that they who looked upon him might be healed of their mortal wounds; Christ was that serpent. All

Moses's affection towards the people, all his cares and toils on their account were repaid by them with ingratude, murmuring, and rebellion; the same returns the Jews made to Christ for all his benefits. Moses was ill used by his own family, his brother and sister rebelled against him; there was a time when Christ's own brethren believed not in him. Moses had a very wicked and perverse generation committed to his care and conduct, and to enable him to rule them, miraculous powers were given to him, and he used his utmost endevor to make the people obedient to God, and to save them from ruin; but in vain; in the space of forty years they all fell in the wilderness except two: Christ also was given to a generation not less wicked and perverse, his instructions and his miracles were lost upon them, and in about the same space of time, after they had rejected him, they were destroyed. Moses was very meek above all men that were on the face of the earth; so was Christ. The people could not enter into the land of promise, till Moses was dead; by the death of Christ the kingdom of heaven was open to believers. In the death of Moses and Christ there is also a resemblance of some circumstances: Moses died, in one sense, for the iniquities of the people; it was their rebellion which was the occasion of it, which drew down the displeasure of God upon them and upon him; Moses went up, in the sight of the people, to the top of mount Nebo, and there he died, when he was in perfect vigor, when *his eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated:* Christ suffered for the sins of men, and was led up, in the presence of the people, to mount Calvary, where he died in the flower of his age, and when he was in his full natural strength. Neither Moses nor Christ, as far as we may collect from sacred history, were ever sick, or felt any bodily decay or infirmity, which would have rendered them unfit for the toils they underwent; their sufferings were of another kind. Moses was buried, and no man knew where his body lay; nor could the Jews find the body of Christ. Lastly, as Moses a little be-

fore death promised *another prophet;* so Christ *another comforter.*

The great similitude consists in their both being *lawgivers,* which no prophet ever was besides Moses and Christ. They may resemble each other in several other features, and a fruitful imagination may find out a likeness where there is none. But as the same excellent writer concludes, "Is this similitude and correspondence "in so many things between Moses and Christ the effect "of mere chance? Let us search all the records of "universal history, and see if we can find a man who "was so like to Moses as Christ was, and so like to "Christ as Moses was. If we cannot find such a one, "then have we found him of whom Moses in the law, "and the prophets did write, Jesus of Nazareth, the "Son of God."

III. There is no want of many words to prove, for it is visible to all the world, that the people have been and still are severely punished for their infidelity and disobedience to this prophet. The prophecy is clear and express; *Unto him ye shall hearken: And it shall come to pass that whosoever will not hearken unto my words which he shall speak in my name, I will require it of him,* that is, I will severely punish him for it, as the phrase signifies elsewhere. The antecedent is put for the consequent: judges first inquired, then punished: and the Seventy translate it, (9) *I will take vengeance of him.* This prophecy, as we have proved at large, evidently relates to Jesus Christ. God himself in a manner applies it to him: for when he was transfigured, (Matt. xvii. 5.) there came *a voice out of the cloud, which said, This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased; hear ye him:* alluding plainly to the words of Moses, *Unto him ye shall hearken,* and so pointing him out for the prophet like unto Moses. St. Peter, as we noted before, directly applies it to our Saviour, (Acts iii. 22, 23.) *For Moses truly said unto the fathers, A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you, of your brethren, like unto me;*

(9) εγω εκδικησω εξ αυτου. [I will take vengeance of him.] Sept.

him shall ye hear in all things whatsoever he shall say unto you: And it shall come to pass, that every soul which will not hear that prophet, shall be destroyed from among the people; which is the sense rather than the words of the prophecy. And hath not this terrible denunciation been fully executed upon the Jews? Was not the complete excision of that incredulous nation, soon after Jesus had finished his ministry among them, and his apostles had likewise preached in vain, the fulfilling of the threat upon them for not hearkening unto him? We may be the more certain of this application, as our Saviour himself not only denounced the same destruction, but also foretold the signs, the manner, and the circumstances of it, with a particularity and exactness that will amaze us, as we shall see in a proper place: and those of the Jews who believed in his name, by remembering the caution and following the advice which he had given them, escaped from the general ruin of their country, like firebrands plucked out of the fire. The main body of the nation either perished in their infidelity, or were carried captive into all nations: and have they not ever since persisted in the same infidelity, been obnoxious to the same punishment, and been a vagabond, distressed, and miserable people in the earth? The hand of God was scarce ever more visible in any of his dispensations. We must be blind not to see it: and seeing, we cannot but admire, and adore it. What other probable account can they themselves give of their long captivity, dispersion, and misery? Their former captivity for the punishment of all their wickedness and idolatry lasted only seventy years: but they have lived in their present dispersion, even tho' they have been no idolaters, now these seventeen hundred years, and yet without any immediate prospect of their restoration: and what enormous crime could have drawn down, and unrepented of still continues to draw down, these heavy judgments upon them? We say that they were cut off for their infidelity; and that when they shall turn to the faith, they will be graffed in again. One would think, it should be worth their while to try the experiment. Sure we are, that

they have long been monuments of God's justice; we believe, that upon their faith and repentance they will become again objects of his mercy: and in the mean time with St. Paul, (Rom. x. 1.) *our hearts desire and prayer to God for Israel is, that they may be saved.*

VII.

PROPHECIES OF MOSES CONCERNING THE JEWS.

IT is observable that the prophecies of Moses abound most in the latter part of his writings. As he drew nearer his end, it pleased God to open to him larger prospects of things. As he was about to take leave of the people, he was enabled to disclose unto them more particulars of their future state and condition. The design of this work will permit us to take notice of such only as have some reference to these later ages: and we will confine ourselves principally to the 28th chapter of Deuteronomy, the greater part whereof we may see accomplished in the world at this present time.

This great prophet and lawgiver is here proposing at large to the people the blessings for obedience, and the curses for disobedience: and indeed he had foretold at several times and upon several occasions, that they should be happy or miserable in the world, as they were obedient or disobedient to the law that he had given them. And could there be any stronger evidence of the divine original of the Mosaical law? and hath not the interposition of providence been wonderfully remarkable in their good or bad fortune? and is not the truth of the prediction fully attested by the whole series of their history from their first settlement in Canaan to this very day? But he is larger and more particular in recounting

the curses than the blessings, as if he had a prescience of the people's disobedience, and foresaw that a larger portion and longer continuation of the evil would fall to their share, than of the good. I know that some critics make a division of these prophecies, and imagin that one part relates to the former captivity of the Jews, and to the calamities which they suffered under the Chaldæans; and that the other part relates to the latter captivity of the Jews, and to the calamities which they suffered under the Romans: but there is no need of any such distinction: there is no reason to think that any such was intended by the author; several prophecies of the one part as well as of the other have been fulfilled at both periods, but they have all more amply been fulfilled during the latter period; and there cannot be a more lively picture than they exhibit, of the state of the Jews at present.

1. We will consider them with a view to the order of time rather than the order wherein they lie; and we may not improperly begin with this passage, ver. 49. *The Lord shall bring a nation against thee from far, from the end of the earth, as swift as the eagle flieth, a nation whose tongue thou shalt not understand:* and the Chaldæans might be said to come *from far,* in comparison with the Moabites, Philistines, and other neighbouring nations, which used to infest Judea. Much the same description is given of the Chaldæans by Jeremiah, (v. 15.) *Lo, I will bring a nation upon you from far, O house of Israel, saith the Lord: it is a mighty nation, it is an ancient nation, a nation whose language thou knowest not, neither understandest what they say.* He compares them in like manner to eagles, (Lam. iv. 19.) *Our persecutors are swifter than the eagles of the heaven: they pursued us upon the mountains, they laid wait for us in the wilderness.* But this description cannot be applied to any nation with such propriety as to the Romans. They were truly brought *from far, from the end of the earth.* Vespasian and Adrian, the two greatest conquerors and destroyers of the Jews, both came from commanding here in Britain. The Romans too for the rapidity of their conquests might

very well be compared to eagles, and perhaps not without an allusion to the standard of the Roman armies, which was an eagle: and their language was more unknown to the Jews than the Chaldee.

2. The enemies of the Jews are farther characterized in the next verse, *A nation of fierce countenance, which shall not regard the person of the old, nor show favor to the young.* Such were the Chaldæans; and the sacred historian saith expresly, (2 Chron xxxvi. 17.) that for the wickedness of the Jews God *brought upon them the king of the Chaldees, who slew their young men with the sword, in the house of their sanctuary, and had no compassion upon young man or maiden, old man, or him that stooped for age; he gave them all into his hand.* Such also were the Romans; for when Vespasian entered Gadara, (1) Josephus saith, that 'he slew all man by man, 'the Romans showing mercy to no age, out of hatred to 'the nation, and remembrance of their former injuries.' The like slaughter was made at Gamala, (2) 'For no 'body escaped besides two women, and they escaped by 'concealing themselves from the rage of the Romans. 'For they did not so much as spare young children, but 'every one at that time snatching up many cast them 'down from the citadel.'

3. Their enemies were also to besiege and take their cities, ver. 52, *And he shall besiege thee in all thy gates, until thy high and fenced walls come down, wherein thou trustedst, throughout all thy land.* So *Shalmaneser king*

(1) Και παρελθων εισω, παντας ηδηδον αναιρει, μηδεμιας των Ρωμαιων ηλικιας ελεον ποιουμενων, μισει τε προ το εθνει, και μνημη της κατη τον Κεστιον αυτων παρανομιας. et deinde in eam ingressus, puberes omnes interfici jussit, Romanis nulli ætati misericordiam adhibentibus, tam ex odio in gentem, quam memoria iniquitatis illorum in Cestium. ['And having entered into it, he ordered all that were grown up to be slain: The Romans shewing mercy to no age, both on account of their hatred to the whole nation, and because of their recollection of the wrong which they had done to Cestius.'] Bell. Jud. Lib. 3. C. 7. Sect. 1. p. 1128. Edit. Hudson.

(2) διεσωθη δε πλην δυο γυναικων ουδεις.——διεσωθησαν δε, τας παρα την αλωσιν οργας Ρωμαιων λαθουσαι. ουδε γαρ νηπιων εφειδοντο, πολλα δε εκαστοτε αρπαζοντες εσφενδονων απο της ακρας. Nemo autem præter duas mulieres interitum effugit—evaserunt autem, quod iræ Romanorum in excidio sese subduxerint. Nec enim infantibus pepercerunt, multos vero singuli eo tempore raptos ex arce projiciebant. [Translated in the text.] Bell. Jud. Lib. 4. C. 1. Sect. 10. p. 1165. Edit. Hudson.

of Assyria came up against Samaria, and besieged it, and at the end of three years they took it. (2 Kings xviii. 9, 10.) *So did Sennacherib king of Assyria come up against all the fenced cities of Judah, and took them:* (Ib. ver. 13.) and Nebuchadnezzar and his captains took and spoiled Jerusalem, burnt the city and temple, *and brake down the walls of Jerusalem round about.* (Ib. xxv. 10.) So likewise the Romans, as we may read in Josephus's history of the Jewish war, demolished several fortified places, before they besieged and destroyed Jerusalem. And the Jews may very well be said to have *trusted in their high and fenced walls,* for they seldom ventured a battle in the open field. They confided in the strength and situation of Jerusalem, as the Jebusites, the former inhabitants of the place, had done before them: (2 Sam. v. 6, 7.) insomuch that they are represented saying (Jer. xxi. 13.) *Who shall come down against us? or who shall enter into our habitation?* Jerusalem was indeed a very strong place, and wonderfully fortified both by nature and art according to the description of (3) Tacitus as well as of Josephus: and yet (4) how many times was it taken? It was taken by Sishak king of Egypt, by Nebuchadnezzar, by Antiochus Epiphanes, by Pompey, by Sosius and Herod, before its final destruction by Titus.

4. In these sieges they were to suffer much, and especially from famin, *in the straitness wherewith their enemies should distress them,* ver. 53, &c. And accordingly when the king of Syria besieged Samaria, *there was a great famin in Samaria; and behold they besieged it until an ass's head was sold for fourscore pieces of silver, and the fourth part of a cab of doves dung for five pieces of silver.* (2 Kings vi. 25.) And when Nebuchadnezzar besieged Jerusalem, *the famin prevailed in the city, and there was no bread for the people of the land.* (2 Kings xxv. 3.) And in the last siege of Jerusualem by the Romans there was a most terrible famin in the city, and Josephus hath given so melancholy an account of it, that we cannot read it

(4) Taciti Hist. Lib. 5. Josephus de Bell. Jud. Lib. 5. Cap. 4. et. 5.
(4) See Josephus de Bell. Jud. Lib. 6. Cap. ult. p. 1292. Edit. Hudson.

without shuddring. He saith, particularly, (5) that 'women snatched the food out of the very mouths of their 'husbands, and sons of their fathers, and (what is most 'miserable) mothers of their infants:' and in (6) another place he saith, that 'in every house, if there appeared 'any semblance of food, a battle ensued, and the dearest 'friends and relations fought with one another, snatching 'away the miserable provisions of life:' so litterally were the words of Moses fulfilled, ver. 54, &c. the man's *eye shall be evil toward his brother, and towards the wife of his bosom, and towards his children, because he hath nothing left him in the siege, and in the straitness wherewith thine enemies shall distress thee in all thy gates,* and in like manner the woman's *eye shall be evil towards the husband of her bosom, and towards her son, and towards her daughter.*

5. Nay it was expresly foretold, that not only the men, but even the women should eat their own children. Moses had foretold the same thing before, Levit. xxvi. 29, *Ye shall eat the flesh of your sons, and the flesh of your daughters shall ye eat.* He repeats it here ver. 53, *And thou shalt eat the fruit of thine own body, the flesh of thy sons and of thy daughters:* and more particularly, ver. 56, &c. *The tender and delicate woman among you, who would not adventure to set the sole of her foot upon the ground for delicateness and tenderness—she shall eat her children for want of all things secretly in the siege and straitness, wherewith thine enemies shall distress thee in thy gates.* And it was fulfilled about 600 years after the time of Moses among the Israelites, when Samaria was besieged by the king of Syria, and two women agreed

(5) γυναικες γαρ ανδρων, και παιδες πατερων, και το οικτροτατον μητερες νηπιων εξηρπαζον εξ αυτων των στοματων τας τροφας. Siquidem uxores viris, et filii parentibus, et quod omnium maxime miserabile erat, matres infantibus cibum ex ipso ore rapiebant. [Translated in the text.] Bell. Jud. Lib. 5. Cap. 10. Sect. 3. p. 1245.

(6) Καθ' ἑκαστην γαρ οικιαν, ει που τροφης παραφανειη σκια, πολεμος ην, και δια χειρων εχωρουν οι φιλτατοι προς αλληλους, εξαρπαζοντες τα ταλαιπωρα της ψυχης εφοδια. Per singulas quippe domos siquibi vel umbra apparuisset cibi, bellum illico gerebatur et amicissimi quique inter se acriter dimicabant, sibi invicem misera vitæ subsidia eripientes. [Translated in the text.] Lib. 6. Cap. 3. Sect. 3. p. 1274. Edit. Hudson.

together, the one to give up her son to be boiled and eaten to day, and the other to deliver up her son to be dressed and eaten to-morrow, and one of them was eaten accordingly. (2 Kings vi. 28, 29.) It was fulfilled again about 900 years after the time of Moses among the Jews in the siege of Jerusalem before the Babylonish captivity; and Baruch thus expresseth it, (ii. 1, &c.) *The Lord hath made good his word, which he pronounced against us, to bring upon us great plagues, such as never happened under the whole heaven, as it came to pass in Jerusalem, according to the things that were written in the law of Moses, that a man should eat the flesh of his own son, and the flesh of his own daughter:* and Jeremiah thus laments it in his Lamentations, (iv. 10.) *The hands of the pitiful women have sodden their own children, they were their meat in the destruction of the daughter of my people.* And again it was fulfilled above 1500 years after the time of Moses in the last siege of Jerusalem by Titus; and we read in Josephus particularly of a noble woman's killing and eating her own sucking child. Moses saith, *The tender and delicate woman among you, who would not adventure to set the sole of her foot upon the ground for delicateness and tenderness:* and there cannot be a more natural and lively description of a woman, who was according to (7) Josephus illustrious for her family and riches. Moses saith, *she shall eat them for want of all things:* and according to Josephus she had been plundered of all her substance and provisions by the tyrants and soldiers. Moses saith that she should do it *secretly:* according to Josephus, when she had boiled and eaten half, she covered up the rest, and kept it for another time. At so many different times and distant periods hath this prophecy been fulfilled; and one would have thought that

(7) διὰ γενῶν καὶ πλήθους ἐπισήμων genere atque opibus illustris——[illustrious on account of her family and riches] ταύτης τὴν μὲν ἀλλὴν κλῆσιν οἱ τύραννοι διήρπασαν, κ. τ. λ. Hujus alias quidem facultates jam tyranni diripuerant, &c. [The tyrants had plundered her of all her other possessions, &c.—— ἐπεὶ δ' ὀπήσασα τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ καθέψησε, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν κατακαλυψασα ἐφύλαττεν. coctum deinde ipsa quidem dimidium ejus comedit, adopertum vero reliquum servabat. [Afterwards having dressed her child, she devoured the one half of him, and covering up the remainder, she reserved it for another time.] Bell. Jud. Lib. 6. cap. 3. Sect. 4. Edit. Hudson.

such distress and horror had almost transcended imagination, and much less that any person could certainly have foreseen and foretold it.

6. Great numbers of them were to be destroyed, ver. 62. *And ye shall be left few in number, whereas ye were as the stars of heaven for multitude.* Now not to mention any other of the calamities and slaughters which they have undergone, there was in the last siege of Jerusalem by Titus an infinite multitude, saith (8) Josephus, who perished by famin: and he computes, that during the whole siege, the number of those who were destroyed by that and by the war amounted to eleven hundred thousand, the people being assembled from all parts to celebrate the passover: and the same author hath given us an account of 1,240,490 destroyed in Jerusalem and other parts of Judea, besides 99,200 made prisoners; as (9) Basnage has reckoned them up from that historian's account. Indeed there is not a nation upon earth, that hath been exposed to so many massacres and persecutions. Their history abounds with them. If God had not given them a promise of a numerous posterity, the whole race would many a time have been extirpated.

7. They were to be carried into Egypt, and sold for slaves at a very low price, ver. 68. *And the Lord shall bring thee into Egypt again, with ships: and there ye shall be sold unto your enemies for bondmen and bondwomen, and no man shall buy you.* They had come out of Egypt triumphant, but now they should return thither as slaves. They had walked thro' the sea as dry land at their coming out, but now they should be carried thither in ships. They might be carried thither in the ships of the Tyrian or Sidonian merchants, or by the Romans who

(8) Των δ' υπο τω λιμω φθειρομενων καλα την πολιν απειρον μεν επιπλε το πληθος: Eorum autem qui per civitatem fame perierunt infinita quidem occidit multitudo. [But of them who perished by famine throughout the city, there was an infinite multitude.] Bell. Jud. Lib. 6. Cap. 3. Sect. 3. p. 1274. των δ' απολωλεκοτων καλα πασαν την πολιορκιαν [αριθμος] μυριαδες ενδεκα δεκα. totius autem obsidionis tempore undecies centena hominum millia perierunt. [And during the whole time of the siege, there perished eleven hundred thousand persons.] Ib. Cap. 9. Sect. 3. p. 1291. Edit. Hudson.

(9) Hist. of the Jews, B. 1. Ch. 8. Sect. 19. See too the conclusion of Usher's Annals.

had a fleet in the Mediterranean: and this was a much safer way of conveying so many prisoners, than sending them by land. It appears from (1) Josephus that in the reigns of the two first Ptolemies many of the Jews were slaves in Egypt. And when Jerusalem was taken by Titus, (2) of the captives who were above 17 years he sent many bound to the works in Egypt; those under 17 were sold; but so little care was taken of these captives, that eleven thousand of them perished for want. The markets were quite overstocked with them, so that Josephus says in another place, that they were sold with their wives and children at the lowest price, there being many to be sold and but few purchasers; so that hereby also was verified that of the Psalmist, (xliv. 12.) *Thou sellest thy people for nought, and takest no money for them.* And we learn from (3) St. Jerome, that, 'after their last overthrow by 'Adrian, many thousands of them were sold, and those 'who could not be sold, were transported into Egypt, 'and perished by shipwrack or famin, or were massacred 'by the inhabitants.'

8. They were to be rooted out of their own land, ver. 63. *And ye shall be plucked from off the land whither thou goest to possess it.* They were indeed *plucked from off their own land,* when the ten tribes were carried into captivity by the king of Assyria, and other nations were planted in their stead; and when the two other tribes were carried away captive to Babylon; and when the Romans took away their place and nation;

(1) Joseph. Ant. Lib. 12. Cap. 1 et 2.

(2) —— τους ὑπερ ἑπτακαιδεκα ἐτη δησας ἐπεμψεν εις τα κατ' Αἰγυπτον ἐργα, ——οἱ δ' ενδον ἑπτακαιδεκα ετων ἐπραθησαν. ἐφθαρησαν δ' αὐτων εν αἰς διεριπτο ὁ Φροντων ἡμεραις ὑπ' ενδειας, χιλιοι σπρος τοις μυριοις. annis XVII majores vinctos ad metalla exercenda in Ægyptum misit;—Quicunque vero infra XVII annum *ætatis* erant *sub corona* venditi sunt. Iisdem autem diebus, dum a Frontone secernebantur, ex inedia perierunt XI millia. [Having chained the males that were above seventeen years of age, he sent them down to the works which were in Egypt.—But such of them as were below that age, were sold. And during the time that Fronto was separating them, eleven thousand perished through want.] Bell. Jud. Lib. 6. Cap. 9. Sect. 2. p. 1291. Cap. 8. Sect. 2. p. 1288. Edit. Hudson.

(3) —post ultimam eversionem quam sustinuerunt ab Adriano, multa hominum millia venundata sint; et quæ vendi non potuerint, translata in Ægyptum; et tam naufragio et fame quam gentium cæde truncata. [Translated in the text.] Hieron. in Zachariam, Cap. 11. p. 1774. Vol. 8. Edit. Benedict.

besides other captivities and transportations of the people. Afterwards when the Emperor Adrian had subdued the rebellious Jews, he published an (4) edict forbidding them upon pain of death to set foot in Jerusalem, or even to approach the country round about it. Tertullian and Jerome say, (5) that they were prohibited from entering into Judea. From that time to this their country hath been in possession of foreign lords and masters, few of the Jews dwelling in it, and those only of a low servile condition. Benjamin of Tudela in Spain, a celebrated Jew of the twelfth century, traveled into all parts to visit those of his own nation, and to learn an exact state of their affairs: and he (6) hath reported, that Jerusalem was almost entirely abandoned by the Jews. He found there not above two hundred persons, who were for the most part dyers of wool, and who every year purchased the privilege of the monopoly of that trade. They lived all together under David's tower, and made there a very little figure. If Jerusalem had so few Jews in it, the rest of the holy land was still more depopulated. He found two of them in one city, twenty in another, most whereof were dyers. In other places there were more persons; but in upper Galilee, where the nation was in greatest repute after the ruin of Jerusalem, he found hardly any Jews at all. A very accurate and faithful (7) traveler of our own nation, who was himself also in the holy land, saith, that "it is for the most part now "inhabited by Moors and Arabians; those possessing "the valleys, and these the mountains. Turks there "be few: but many Greeks with other Christians of all "sects and nations, such as impute to the place an ad"herent holiness. Here be also some Jews, yet inherit "they no part of the land, but in their own country do "live as aliens."

9. But they were not only to be plucked off from their

(4) Justin. Martyr. Apol. 1. ma. p. 71. Edit. Thirlbii. Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 4. Cap. 6.

(5) Tertull. Apol. Cap. 21., p. 19. Edit. Rigaltii. Par. 1675. Hieron. in Isaiam. Cap. 6. p. 65. in Dan. Cap. 9. p. 1117. Vol. 3. Edict. Benedict.

(6) See Benjamin. Itin. and Basnage's Hist. of the Jews, B. 7. C. 7.

(7) Sandys's Travels. Book 3. p. 114. 7th Edit.

own land, but also to be dispersed into all nations, ver. 25, *And thou shalt be removed into all the kingdoms of the earth;* and again ver. 64, *And the Lord shall scatter thee among all people, from one end of the earth even unto the other.* Nehemiah (i. 8, 9.) confesseth that these words were fulfilled in the Babylonish captivity; but they have more amply been fulfilled since the great dispersion of the Jews by the Romans. What people indeed have been scattered so far and wide as they? and where is the nation, which is a stranger to them, or to which they are strangers? They swarm in many parts of the east, are spread through most of the countries of Europe and Afric, and there are several families of them in the West Indies. They circulate through all parts; where trade and money circulate; and are, as I may say, the brokers of the world.

10. But though they should be so dispersed, yet they should not be totally destroyed, but still subsist as a distinct people, as Moses had before foretold, Levit. xxvi. 44, *And yet for all that, when they be in the land of their enemies, I will not cast them away, neither will I abhor them, to destroy them utterly, and to break my covenant with them.* The Jewish nation (8) like the bush of Moses, hath been always burning, but is never consumed. And what a marvelous thing is it, that after so many wars, battles, and sieges, after so many fires, famins, and pestilences, after so many rebellions, massacres, and persecutions, after so many years of captivity, slavery, and misery, they are not *destroyed utterly,* and though scattered among all people, yet subsist as a distinct people by themselves? Where is any thing comparable to this to be found in all the histories, and in all the nations under the sun?

11. However, they should suffer much in their dispersion, and should not rest long in any place, ver. 65. *And among these nations shalt thou find no ease, neither shall the sole of thy foot have rest.* They have been so far from finding rest, that they have been banished from city to city, from country to country. In many places they

(8) Basnage's Hist. of the Jews, Book 6. Chap. 1. Sect. 1.

have been banished, and recalled, and banished again. We will only just mention their great banishments in modern times, and from countries very well known. In the latter end of the thirteenth century they (9) were banished from England by Edward I. and were not permitted to return and settle again till Cromwell's time. In the latter end of the fourteenth century they (1) were banished from France (for the seventh time, says Mezeray) by Charles VI; and ever since they have been only tolerated, they have not enjoyed entire liberty, except at Metz where they have a synagogue. In the latter end of the fifteenth century (2) they were banished from Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella; and according to Mariana, there were a hundred and seventy thousand families, or as some say eight hundred thousand persons who left the kingdom: Most of them paid dearly to John II. for a refuge in Portugal, but within a few years were expelled from thence also by his successor Emanuel. And in our own time, within these few years, they were banished from Prague by the queen of Bohemia.

12. They should be *oppressed and spoiled evermore:* and their *houses* and *vineyards*, their *oxen* and *asses* should be taken from them, and they should *be only oppressed and crushed alway*, ver. 29, &c. And what frequent seizures have been made of their effects in almost all countries? how often have they been fined and fleeced by almost all governments? how often have they been forced to redeem their lives with what is almost as dear as their lives, their treasure? Instances are innumerable. We will only cite an (3) historian of our own, who says that Henry III. "always polled the Jews at every low "ebb of his fortunes. One Abraham, who was found "delinquent, was forced to pay seven hundred marks "for his redemption. Aaron, another Jew, protested

(9) See Kennet, Echard, and Basnage's Hist. of the Jews. B. 7. Chap. 19.

(1) On enjoignit aux Juifs pour la septiesmn-fois, &c. [It was injoined the Jews for the seventh time, &c.] See Mezeray Abregé Chronol. et Basnage, B. 7. C. 18.

(2) See Mariana's Hist. of Spain, B. 26. Chap. 1 et 6. and Basnage, B. 7. C. 21.

(3) Daniel id Kennet. Vol. i. p. 179.

" that the king had taken from him at times thirty thou-
" sand marks of silver, besides two hundred marks of
" gold, which he had presented to the queen. And in
" like manner he used many others of the Jews." And when they were banished in the reign of Edward I. their estates were confiscated, and immense sums thereby accrued to the crown.

13. *Their sons and their daughters should be given unto another people*, ver. 32. And in several countries, in Spain and Portugal particularly, their children have been taken from them by order of the government to be educated in the popish religion. The (4) fourth council of Toledo ordered, that all their children should be taken from them for fear they should partake of their errors, and that they should be shut up in monasteries, to be instructed in the christian truths. And when they were banished from Portugal, " the king," says (5) Mariana, " ordered all their children, under 14 years of age, to " be taken from them, and baptized: a practice not at " all justifiable," adds the historian, " because none " ought to be forced to become Christians, nor children " to be taken from their parents."

14. *They should be mad for the sight of their eyes which they should see*, ver. 34. And into what madness, fury, and desperation have they been pushed by the cruel usage, extortions, and oppressions which they have undergone? We will allege only two similar instances, one from ancient, and one from modern history. After the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, (6) some of the worst of the Jews took refuge in the castle of Masada, where being closely besieged by the Romans, they at the persuasion of Eleazar their leader, first murdered their wives and children; then ten men were chosen by lot to slay the rest; this being done, one of the ten was chosen in like manner to kill the other nine, which having executed he set fire to the place, and then stabbed himself. There were nine hundred and sixty who perished in this

(4) See Basnage, B. 7. C. 13. Sect. 14.
(5) Mariana, B. 26. C. 6.
(6) Josephus de Bell. Jud. Lib. 7. C. 8 et 9. Edit. Hudson.

miserable manner; and only two women, and five boys escaped by hiding themselves in the aqueducts under ground. Such another instance we have in our English history. For (7) in the reign of Richard the first, when the people were in arms to make a great massacre of them, fifteen hundred of them seised on the city of York to defend themselves; but being besieged they offered to capitulate, and to ransom their lives with money. The offer being refused, one of them cryed in despair, that it was better to die courageously for the law, than to fall into the hands of the Christians. Every one immediately took his knife, and stabbed his wife and children. The men afterwards retired into the king's palace, which they set on fire, in which they consumed themselves with the palace and furniture.

15. *They should serve other gods, wood and stone,* ver. 36; and again ver 64, *they should serve other gods, which neither they nor their fathers had known, even wood and stone.* And is it not too common for the Jews in popish countries to comply with the idolatrous worship of the church of Rome, and to bow down to stocks and stones rather than their effects should be seised and confiscated? Here again we must cite the author, who hath most studied, and hath best written their modern history, and whom we have had occasion to quote several times in this discourse. "The Spanish and Portugal Inquisi-" sitions, (8) saith he, reduce them to the dilemma of " being either hypocrites or burnt. The number of " these dissemblers is very considerable; and it ought " not to be concluded, that there are no Jews in Spain " or Portugal, because they are not known: they are " so much the more dangerous, for not only being very " numerous, but confounded with the ecclesiastics, and " entring into all ecclesiastical dignities." In another (9) place he saith, "The most surprising thing is, that " this religion spreads from generation to generation,

(7) Basnage, B. 7. Chap. 10. Sect. 20. who cites Matt. Paris. p. 111. et Polyd. Virgil. l. 14. p. 248.

(8) Basnage, Book 7. Chap. 33. Sect. 14.

(9) B. 7. Chap. 21. Sect. 26.

" and still subsists in the persons of dissemblers in a re-
" mote posterity. In vain the great lords of Spain (1)
" *make alliances, change their names, and take ancient*
" *scutcheons; they are still known to be of Jewish race,*
" *and Jews themselves. The convents of monks and*
" *nuns are full of them. Most of the canons, inquisi-*
" *tors, and bishops proceed from this nation.* This is
" enough to make the people and clergy of this country
" tremble, since such sort of churchmen can only profane
" the sacraments, and want intention in consecrating the
" host they adore. In the mean time Orobio, who
" relates the fact, knew these dissemblers. He was
" one of them himself, and bent the knee before the
" sacrament Moreover he brings proofs of his asser-
" tion, in maintaining, that there are in the synagogue
" of Amsterdam, brothers and sisters and near relations
" to good families of Spain and Portugal; and even
" Franciscan monks, Dominicans, and Jesuits, who come
" to do penance, and make amends for the crime they
" have committed in dissembling."

16. *They should become an astonishment, a proverb, and a by-word among all nations,* ver. 37. And do we not hear and see this prophecy fulfilled almost every day? is not the avarice, usury, and hard-heartedness of a Jew grown proverbial? and are not their persons generally odious among all sorts of people? Mohammedans, Heathens, and Christians, however they may disagree in other points, yet generally agree in vilifying, abusing, and persecuting the Jews. In most places where they are tolerated, they are obliged to live in a separate quarter by themselves, (as they did here in the Old Jewry) and to wear some badge of distinction. Their very countenances commonly distinguish them from the rest of mankind. They are in all respects treated, as if they were of another species. And when a great master of nature would draw the portrait of a Jew, how detestable a character hath he represented in the person of his *Jew of Venice!*

(1) Limborch Collat. cum Jud. p. 102.

17. Finally *their plagues should be wonderful, even great plagues, and of long continuance*, ver. 59. And have not their plagues continued now these 1700 years? Their former captivities were very short in comparison: and (2) Ezekiel and Daniel prophesied in the land of the Chaldæans: but now they have no true prophet to foretel an end of their calamities, they have only false Messiahs to delude them, and aggravate their misfortunes. In their former captivities they had the comfort of being conveyed to the same place; they dwelt together in the land of Goshen, they were carried together to Babylon: but now they are dispersed all over the face of the earth. What nation hath suffered so much, and yet indured so long? what nation hath subsisted as a distinct people in their own country, so long as these have done in their dispersion into all countries? and what a standing miracle is this exhibited to the view and observation of the whole world?

Here are instances of prophecies, prophecies delivered above three thousand years ago, and yet as we see fulfilling in the world at this very time: and what stronger proofs can we desire of the divine legation of Moses? How these instances may affect others, I know not, but for myself I must acknowlege, they not only convince, but amaze and astonish me beyond expression. They are truly as Moses foretold they would be, *a sign, and a wonder for ever*. ver. 45, 46. *Moreover all these curses shall come upon thee, and shall pursue thee and overtake thee, till thou be destroyed; because thou hearkenedst not unto the voice of the Lord thy God, to keep his commandments, and his statutes which he commanded thee: and they shall be upon thee for a sign and for a wonder, and upon thy seed for ever.*

(2) See Basnage, B. 6. Chap. 1. Sect. 2.

VIII.

PROPHECIES OF OTHER PROPHETS CONCERNING THE JEWS.

BESIDES the prophecies of Moses, there are others of other prophets, relative to the present state and condition of the Jews Such are those particularly concerning the restoration of the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin from captivity, and the dissolution of the ten tribes of Israel; and those concerning the preservation of the Jews, and the destruction of their enemies; and those concerning the desolation of Judea; and those concerning the infidelity and reprobation of the Jews; and those concerning the calling and obedience of the Gentiles. And it may be proper to say something upon each of these topics.

I. It was foretold, that the ten tribes of Israel should be carried captive by the kings of Assyria, and that the two remaining tribes of Judah and Benjamin should be carried captive by the king of Babylon: but with this difference, that the two tribes should be restored and return from their captivity, but the ten tribes should be dissolved and lost in theirs. Nay not only the captivity and restoration of the two tribes were foretold, but the precise time of their captivity and restoration was also prefixed and determined by the prophet Jeremiah: (xxv. 11.) *This whole land shall be a desolation, and an astonishment; and these nations shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years;* and again (xxix. 10.) *Thus saith the Lord, that after seventy years be accomplished at Babylon, I will visit you, and perform my good word towards you, in causing you to return to this place.* This prophecy was first delivered (Jer. xxv. 1.) *in the fourth year of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah king of Judah, that was the first year of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon.*

And this (1) same year it began to be put in execution; for Nebuchadnezzar invaded Judea, besieged and took Jerusalem, made Jehoiakim his subject and tributary, transported the finest children of the royal family and of the nobility to Babylon to be bred up there for eunuchs and slaves in his palace, and also carried away the vessels of the house of the Lord, and put them in the temple of his god at Babylon. Seventy years from this time will bring us down to the first year of Cyrus, (2 Chron. xxxvi. 22. Ezra i. 1.) when he made his proclamation for the restoration of the Jews, and for the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem. This computation of the seventy years captivity appear to be the truest, and most agreeable to scripture. But if you fix the commencement of these seventy years at the time when Jerusalem was burnt and destroyed, their (2) conclusion will fall about the time when Darius issued his decree for rebuilding the temple, after the work had been stopt and suspended. Or if you fix their commencement at the time when Nebuzaradan carried away the last remainder of the people, and completed the desolation of the land, their (3) conclusion will fall about the time when the temple was finished and dedicated, and the first passover was solemnized in it. "So that," as Dean Prideaux says, "taking it which way you will, and at "what stage you please, the prophecy of Jeremiah will "be fully and exactly accomplished concerning this "matter." It may be said to have been accomplished at three different times, and in three different manners, and therefore possibly all might have been intended, tho' the first without doubt was the principal object of the prophecy.

But the case was different with the ten tribes of Israel. It is very well known that Ephraim being the chief of the ten tribes is often put for all the ten tribes of Israel; and it was predicted by Isaiah (vii. 8.) *Within threescore*

(1) See Usher, Prideaux, and the Commentators on 2 Kings xxiv. 2 Chron. xxxvi. and Dan. i.

(2) Prideaux Connect. Part 1. B. 3. Anno 518. Darius 4.

(3) Prideaux ibid. Anno 515. Darius 7.

and five years shall Ephraim be broken, that it be not a people. This prophecy was delivered in the first year of Ahaz king of Judah; for in the latter end of his father Jotham's reign, (2 Kings xv. 37.) Rezin king of Syria and Pekah king of Israel began their expedition against Judah. They went up towards Jerusalem to war against it in the beginning of the reign of Ahaz; and it was to comfort him and the house of David in these difficulties and distresses, that the prophet Isaiah was commissioned to assure him, that the kings of Syria and Israel should remain only the heads of their respective cities, they should not prevail against Jerusalem, and within sixty and five years Israel should be so broken as to be no more a people. The learned (4) Vitringa is of opinion, that the text is corrupted, and that instead of *sixty* ששים and five it was originally written *sixteen* ששי and five. *Sixteen and five,* as he confesseth, is an odd way of computation for *one and twenty;* but it designs perfectly the years of Ahaz and Hezekiah. For Ahaz reigned *sixteen* years, and Hezekiah *five* years alone, having reigned one year jointly with his father: and it was *in the sixth year of Hezekiah* (2 Kings viii. 10, 11.) that *Shalmaneser took Samaria, and carried away Israel unto Assyria.* Then indeed the kingdom of Israel was broken: and the conjecture of Vitringa would appear much more probable, if it could be proved that it had ever been usual to write the numbers or dates of years partly in words at length, and partly in numeral letters. But without recourse to such an expedient the thing may be explicated otherwise. For from the first of Ahaz (5) compute sixty and five years in the reigns of Ahaz, Hezekiah, and Manasseh, the end of them will fall about the 22d year of Manasseh, when Esarhaddon king of Assyria made the last deportation of the Israelites, and planted other nations in their stead; and in the same expedition probably took Manasseh captive, (2 Chron. xxxiii. 11.) and carried him to Babylon. It is said

(4) Comment. in locum.
(5) See Usher, Prideaux, &c.

expresly that it was Esarhaddon who planted the other nations in the cities of Samaria: but it is not said expresly in scripture, that he carried away the remainder of the people, but it may be inferred from several circumstances of the story. There were other deportations of the Israelites made by the kings of Assyria before this time. In the reign of Ahaz, Tiglath-pilezer took many of the Israelites, *even the Reubenites, and the Gadites, and the half tribe of Manasseh, and all the land of Naphtali, and carried them captive to Assyria, and brought them unto Halah, and Habor, and Hara, and to the river Gozan.* (1 Chron. v. 26. 2 Kings xv. 29.) His son Shalmaneser, in the reign of Hezekiah, took Samaria, and carried away still greater numbers *unto Assyria, and put them in Halah and in Habor by the river of Gozan* (the same places whither their brethren had been carried before them) *and in the cities of the Medes.* (2 Kings xviii. 11.) His son Sennacherib came up also against Hezekiah, and all the fenced cities of Judah; but his army was miraculously defeated, and he himself was forced to return with shame and disgrace into his own country, where he was murdered by two of his sons. (2 Kings xviii. 19.) Another of his sons, Esarhaddon succeeded him in the throne, but it was some time before he could recover his kingdom from these disorders, and think of reducing Syria and Palestine again to his obedience: and then it was, and not till then, that he completed the ruin of the ten tribes, carried away the remains of the people, and to prevent the land from becoming desolate, *brought men from Babylon, and from Cuthah, and from Hava, and from Hamath, and from Sepharvaim, and placed them in the cities of Samaria, instead of the children of Israel.* (Ezra iv. 2, 10. 2 King xvii. 24.) Ephraim was broken from being a kingdom before, but now he was broken from being a people. And from that time to this what account can be given of the people of Israel as distinct from the people of Judah? where have they subsisted all this while? and where is their situation, or what is their condition at present?

We see plainly that they were placed in Assyria and

Media: and if they subsisted any where, one would imagin they might be found there in the greatest abundance. But authors have generally sought for them elsewhere: and the visionary writer of the second book of Esdras (xiii. 40, &c.) hath asserted that they took a resolution of retiring from the Gentiles, and of going into a country which had never been inhabited; that the river Euphrates was miraculously divided for their passage, and they proceeded in their journey a year and a half, before they arrived at this country, which was called Arsareth. But the worst of it is, as this country was unknown before, so it hath been equally unknown ever since. It is to be found no where but in this apocryphal book, which is so wild and fabulous in other respects, that it deserves no credit in this particular. Benjamin of Tudela, a Jew of the twelfth century, (6) hath likewise assigned them a large and spacious country with fine cities; but no body knoweth to this day where it is situate. Eldad, another Jew of the thirteenth century, hath placed them in Ethiopia and I know not where, and hath made the Saracens and twenty-five kingdoms tributary to them. Another Jewish writer, Peritful of Ferrara, who lived in the century before the last, hath given them kingdoms in a country called Perricha, inclosed by unknown mountains, and bounded by Assyria, and likewise in the deserts of Arabia, and even in the East Indies. Manasseh, a famous rabbi of the last century, and others have asserted, that they passed into Tartary, and expelled the Scythians; and others again from Tartary have conveyed them into America. But all these differing accounts prove nothing but the great uncertainty that there is in this matter. The best of them are only conjectures without any solid foundation, but most of them are manifest forgeries of the Jews to aggrandize their nation.

The difficulty of finding out the habitations of the

(6) For these particulars the reader may consult Basnage's Hist. of the Jews. Book 6, Chap. 2, and 3.

ten tribes hath induced (7) others to maintain, that they returned into their own country with the other two tribes after the Babylonish captivity. The decree indeed of Cyrus extended to *all the people of God,* (Ezra i. 3.) and that of Artaxerxes to *all the people of* Israel; (vii. 13.) and no doubt many of the Israelites took advantage of these decrees, and returned with Zerubbabel and Ezra to their own cities: but still the main body of the ten tribes remained behind. Ezra, who should best know, saith that there *rose up the chief of the fathers of Judah and Benjamin,* (i. 5.) and he calleth the Samaritans *the adversaries of Judah and Benjamin;* (iv. 1.) these two tribes were the principals, the others were only as accessories. And if they did not return at this time, they cannot be supposed to have returned in a body at any time after this; for we read of no such adventure in history, we know neither the time nor occasion of their return, nor who were their generals or leaders in this expedition. Josephus, who saw his country for several years in as florishing a condition as at any time since the captivity, affirms that (8) Ezra sent a copy of the decree of

(7) See Calmet's two Dissertations, 1st. Sur le pays où les dix tribus d'Israel transportées, et sur celui où elles sont aujourd'hui. [Concerning the country into which the ten tribes were carried, and concerning the present place of their abode.] Comment. Vol. 3. 2d. Ou l' on examine sites dix tribus sont revenuës de leur captivité, dans la terre d'Israel. [An inquiry, whether the ten tribes have returned from their captivity, into the land of Israel.] Comment. Vol. 6.

(8) το δ' αντιγραφον αυτης παρα παντας επεμψε τους ὁμοεθνεις τους κατα την Μηδιαν οντας.——πολλοι δ' αυτων, και τας κτησεις αναλαβοντες, ηλθον εις Βαβυλωνα, πυθομενοι την εις τα Ιεροσολυμα καθοδον· ὁ δε πας λαὸς των Ισραηλιτων κατα χωραν εμεινε. διο και δυο φυλας εἰναι συμβεβηκεν επι τε της Ασιας και της Ευρωπης, Ρωμαιοις ὑπακουσεις. αι δε δεκα φυλαι περαν εισιν Ευφρατου εως δευρο, μυριαδες απειροι, και αριθμῳ γνωσθηναι μη δυναμεναι. exemplar vero ejus in Mediam ad omnes gentis suæ homines misit.—multi vero ex iis cum re sua familiari Babylonem se contulerunt, ut qui Hierosolyma revertendi desiderio tenebantur. Omnis autem multitudo Israelitarum in ea regione mansit. Quapropter duæ tantum tribus per Asiam atque Europam sub Romano degunt imperio. Decem autem reliquæ tribus usque in hodiernum diem loca ultra Euphratem colunt, infinita hominum millia, nec numero comprehendenda. [He indeed sent a copy of it, into Media, to all the people of his nation,—and many of them betook themselves with their effects to Babylon, as being desirous of returning to Jerusalem. But the main body of the Israelites remained in that country, so that two only of the tribes live in Asia and Europe under the Roman dominion. But the ten remaining tribes, are to this day settled beyond the Euphrates, consisting of infinite myriads, whose number cannot be ascertained. Antiqu. Lib. 11. Cap. 5. Sect. 2. p. 482. Edit. Hudson.

Artaxerxes to all of the same nation throughout Media, where the ten tribes lived in captivity, and many of them came with their effects to Babylon, desiring to return to Jerusalem: but the main body of the Israelites abode in that region: and therefore it hath happened, saith he, that there are two tribes in Asia and Europe, living in subjection to the Romans: but the ten tribes are beyond the Euphrates to this time; and then addeth with the vanity of a Jew speaking of his countrymen, that they were so many myriads, that they could not be numbered.

Others, finding no good authority for admitting that the ten tribes of Israel were restored in the same manner as the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, (9) have therefore asserted, that "the ten tribes of Israel, which "had separated from the house of David, were brought "to a full and utter destruction, and never after re-"covered themselves again. For those who were thus "carried away (excepting only some few, who joining "themselves to the Jews in the land of their captivity "returned with them) soon going into the usages, and "idolatry of the nations among whom they were "planted, (to which they were too much addicted while "in their own land) after a while became wholly ab-"sorbed, and swallowed up in them, and thence utterly "losing their name, their language, and their memorial, "were never after any more spoken of." But if the whole race of Israel became thus extinct, and perished for ever, how can the numerous prophecies be fulfilled, which promise the future conversion and restoration of Israel as well as of Judah?

The truth I conceive to lie between these two opinions. Neither did they all return to Jerusalem, neither did all, who remained behind, comply with the idolatry of the Gentiles, among whom they lived. But whether they remained, or whether they returned, this prophecy of Isaiah was still fulfilled: the kingdom, the commonwealth, the state of Israel was utterly broken; they no

(9) Prideaux Connect. Part 1. Book 1. Anno 677. Manasseh 22.

longer subsisted as a distinct people from Judah, they no longer maintained a separate religion, they joined themselves to the Jews from whom they had been unhappily divided, they lost the name of Israel as a name of distinction, and were thenceforth all in common called Jews. It appears from the book of Esther, that there were great numbers of Jews in all the hundred twenty and seven provinces of the kingdom of Ahasuerus or Artaxerxes Longimanus king of Persia, and they could not all be the remains of the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, who had refused to return to Jerusalem with their brethren; they must many of them have been the descendents of the ten tribes whom the kings of Assyria had carried away captive; but yet they are all spoken of as one and the same people, and all without distinction are denominated Jews. We read in the Acts of the Apostles, (ii. 9.) that there came to Jerusalem to celebrate the feast of Pentecost *Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia:* these men came from the countries, wherein the ten tribes had been placed, and in all probability therefore were some of their posterity; but yet these as well as the rest are stiled (ver. 5.) *Jews, devout men, out of every nation under heaven.* Those likewise of the ten tribes, who returned to Jerusalem, united with the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, and formed but one nation, one body of Jews; they might for some ages perhaps preserve their genealogies; but they are now incorporated together, and the distinction of tribes and families is in great measure lost among them, and they have all from the Babylonish captivity to this day been comprehended under the general name of Jews. In St. Paul's time there were several persons of all the ten tribes in being; for he speaketh of *twelve tribes hoping to attain to the promise of God;* (Acts xxvi. 7.) and St. James addresseth his epistle *to the twelve tribes which are scattered abroad.* (James i. 1.) And we make no question, that several persons of all the ten tribes are in being at present, tho' we cannot separate them from the rest; they are confounded with the other Jews; there is no difference, no

distinction between them. The (1) Samaritans indeed, (of whom there are still some remains at Sichem and the neighbouring towns) pretend to be the descendents of the children of Israel, but they are really derived from those nations, which Esarhaddon king of Assyria planted in the country, after he had carried thence the ten tribes into captivity. And for this reason the Jews call them by no other name than Cuthites, (the name of one of those nations) and exclaim against them as the worst of heretics, and if possible have greater hatred and abhorrence of them than of the Christians themselves.

Thus we see how the ten tribes of Israel were in a manner lost in their captivity, while the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin were restored and preserved several ages afterwards. And what, can you believe, were the reasons of God's making this difference and distinction between them? The ten tribes had totally revolted from God to the worship of the golden calves in Dan and Bethel; and for this, and their other idolatry and wickedness, they were suffered to remain in the land of their captivity. The Jews were restored, not so much for their own sakes, as for the sake of the promises made unto the fathers, the promise to Judah that the Messiah should come of his tribe, the promise to David that the Messiah should be born of his family. It was therefore necessary for the tribe of Judah, and the families of that tribe, to be kept distinct until the coming of the Messiah. But now these ends are fully answered, the tribes of Judah and Benjamin are as much confounded as any of the rest: all distinction of families and genealogies is lost among them: and the (2) Jews themselves acknowlege as much in saying, that when the Messiah shall come, it will be part of his office "to sort their families, restore the "genealogies, and set aside strangers."

II. The preservation of the Jews thro' so many ages, and the total destruction of their enemies are wonderful events; and are made still more wonderful by being

(1) See Prideaux as before.

(2) See Bishop Chandler's Defence of Christianity, Chap. 1. Sect. 2. p. 38. 3d Edit.

signified before hand by the spirit of prophecy, as we find particularly in the prophet Jeremiah, (xlvi. 28.) *Fear not thou, O Jacob my servant, saith the Lord, for I am with thee, for I will make a full end of all the nations whither I have driven thee, but I will not make a full end of thee.*

The preservation of the Jews is really one of the most signal and illustrious acts of divine providence. They are dispersed among all nations, and yet they are not confounded with any. The drops of rain which fall, nay the great rivers which flow into the ocean, are soon mingled and lost in that immense body of waters: and the same in all human probability would have been the fate of the Jews, they would have been mingled and lost in the common mass of mankind; but on the contrary they flow into all parts of the world, mix with all nations, and yet keep separate from all. They still live as a distinct people, and yet they no where live according to their own laws, no where elect their own magistrates, no where enjoy the full exercise of their religion. Their solemn feasts and sacrifices are limited to one certain place, and that hath been now for many ages in the hands of strangers and aliens, who will not suffer them to come thither. No people have continued unmixed so long as they have done, not only of those who have sent forth colonies into foreign countries, but even of those who have abided in their own country. The northern nations have come in swarms into the more southern parts of Europe; but where are they now to be discerned and distinguished? The Gauls went forth in great bodies to seek their fortune in foreign parts; but what traces or footsteps of them are now remaining any where? In France who can separate the race of the ancient Gauls from the various other people, who from time to time have settled there? In Spain who can distinguish exactly between the first possessors the Spaniards, and the Goths, and the Moors, who conquered and kept possession of the country for some ages? In England who can pretend to say with certainty which families are derived from the ancient Britons, and which from the

Romans, or Saxons, or Danes, or Normans? The most ancient and honorable pedigrees can be traced up only to a certain period, and beyond that there is nothing but conjecture and uncertainty, obscurity and ignorance: but the Jews can go up higher than any nation, they can even deduce their pedigree from the beginning of the world. They may not know from what particular tribe or family they are descended, but they know certainly that they all sprung from the stock of Abraham. And yet the contempt with which they have been treated, and the hardships which they have undergone in almost all countries, should one would think have made them desirous to forget or renounce their original; but they profess it, they glory in it: and after so many wars, massacres, and persecutions, they still subsist, they still are very numerous: and what but a supernatural power could have preserved them in such a manner as none other nation upon earth hath been preserved?

Nor is the providence of God less remarkable in the destruction of their enemies, than in their preservation. For from the beginning, who have been the great enemies and oppressors of the Jewish nation, removed them from their own land, and compelled them into captivity and slavery? The Egyptians afflicted them much, and detained them in bondage several years. The Assyrians carried away captive the ten tribes of Israel, and the Babylonians afterwards the two remaining tribes of Judah and Benjamin. The Syro-Macedonians, especially Antiochus Epiphanes, cruelly persecuted them: and the Romans utterly dissolved the Jewish state, and dispersed the people so that they have never been able to recover their city and country again. But where are now these great and famous monarchies, which in their turns subdued and oppressed the people of God? Are they not vanished as a dream, and not only their power, but their very names lost in the earth? The Egyptians, Assyrians, and Babylonians were overthrown, and entirely subjugated by the Persians: and the Persians, (it is remarkable) were the restorers of the Jews, as well as the destroyers of

their enemies. The Syro-Macedonians were swallowed up by the Romans: and the Roman empire, great and powerful as it was, was broken in pieces by the incursions of the northern nations; while the Jews are subsisting as a distinct people at this day And what a wonder of providence is it, that the vanquished should so many ages survive the victors, and the former be spread all over the world, while the latter are no more?

Nay not only nations have been punished for their cruelties to the Jews, but divine vengeance hath pursued even single persons, who have been their persecutors and oppressors. The first born of Pharaoh was destroyed, and he himself with his host was drowned in the sea. Most of those who oppressed Israel in the days of the Judges, Eglon, Jabin and Sisera, Oreb and Zeeb, and the rest, came to an untimely end. Nebuchadnezzar was stricken with madness, and the crown was soon transferred from his family to strangers. Antiochus Epiphanes (3) died in great agonies, with ulcers and vermin issuing from them, so that the filthiness of his smell was intolerable to all his attendants, and even to himself. Herod, who was a cruel tyrant to the Jews, (4) died in the same miserable manner. Flaccus, governor of Egypt, who barbarously plundered and oppressed the Jews of Alexandria, (5) was afterwards banished and slain. Caligula, who persecuted the Jews for refusing to pay divine honors to his statues, (6) was murdered in the flower of his age, after a short and wicked reign. But where are now, since they have absolutely rejected the gospel, and been no longer the peculiar people of God, where are now such visible manifestations of a divine interposition in their favor? The Jews would do well to consider this point; for rightly considered, it may

(3) 2 Maccab. ix. 9. Polybii Fragm. p. 997. Edit. Casaubon.

(4) Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 17. Cap. 6. Sect. 5. p. 768. De Bell. Jud. Lib. 1. Cap. 33. Sect. 5. p. 1040. Edit. Hudson.

(5) Philo in Flaccum.

(6) Philo de Legatione ad Caium. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 18. Cap. 9. Lib. 19. Cap. 1. Suetonii Calig. Cap. 59. Vixit annis XXX. imperavit triennio et X mensibus, diebusque VIII. [He lived thirty years, and reigned three years, ten months and eight days.]

be an effectual means of opening their eyes, and of turning them to Christ our Saviour.

III. The desolation of Judea is another memorable instance of the truth of prophecy. It was foretold so long ago as by Moses, (Levit. xxvi. 33,) *I will scatter you among the heathen, and will draw out a sword after you; and your land shall be desolate, and your cities waste.* It was foretold again by Isaiah the prophet speaking as prophets often do, of things future as present: (i. 7, 8, 9.) *Your country is desolate, your cities are burnt with fire; your land, strangers devour it in your presence, and it is desolate as overthrown by strangers. And the daughter of Zion is left as a cottage in a vineyard, as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers, as a besieged city.* This passage may relate immediately to the times of Ahaz and Hezekiah; but it must have a farther reference to the devastations made by the Chaldæans, and especially by the Romans. In this sense it is understood by (7) Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Jerome, and most ancient interpreters: and the following words imply no less than a general destruction, and almost total excision of the people, such as they suffered under the Chaldæans, but more fully under the Romans; *Except the Lord of hosts had left unto us a very small remnant, we should have been as Sodom, and we should have been like unto Gomorrah.* The same thing was again foretold by Jeremiah; for speaking afterwards of the conversion of the Gentiles, and of the restoration of the Jews in the latter days, he must be understood to speak here of the times preceding, (xii 10, 11.) *Many pastors* (princes or leaders) *have destroyed my vineyard, they have troden my portion under foot, they have made my pleasant portion a desolate wilderness; they have made it desolate, and being desolate it mourneth unto me; the whole land is made desolate, because no man layeth it to heart.*

The same thing is expressed or implied in other places: and hath not the state of Judea now for many ages been

(7) Just. Mart. Apol. 1 ma. p. 70. Edit. Thirlbii. Dial. cum Tryphone. p. 169. et 243. Tertull. advers. Marcion. Lib. 8. Cap. 23. p. 411. Edit. Rigaltii Par. 1675. et alibi. Hieron. in locum. Vol. 3. p. 12. Edit. Benedict.

exactly answerable to this description? That a country should be depopulated and desolated by the incursions and depredations of foreign armies is nothing wonderful; but that it should lie so many ages in this miserable condition is more than man could foresee, and could be revealed only by God. A celebrated French writer (8) in his history of the Crusades, pretends to exhibit a true picture of Palestine, and he says that then "it was just "what it is at present, the worst of all the inhabited "countries of Asia. It is almost wholly covered with "parched rocks, on which there is not one line of soil. "If this small territory were cultivated, it might not im- "properly be compared to Swisserland." But there is no need of citing authorities to prove that the land is forsaken of its inhabitants, is uncultivated, unfruitful, and desolate; for the enemies of our religion make this very thing an objection to the truth of our religion. They say that so barren and wretched a country could never have been *a land flowing with milk and honey*, nor have supplied and maintained such multitudes, as it is represented to have done in scripture. But they do not see or consider, that hereby the prophecies are fulfilled: so that it is rather an evidence for the truth of our religion, than any argument against it.

The country was formerly a good country, if we may believe the concurrent testimony of those who should best know it, the people who inhabited it. Aristeas and Josephus too (9) speak largely in commendation of its fruitfulness: and tho' something may be allowed to national prejudices, yet they would hardly have had the confidence to assert a thing, which all the world could easily contradict and disprove. Nay there are even heathen authors who bear testimony to the fruitfulness of the land: tho' we presume, that after the Babylonish captivity it never recovered to be again what it was before. Strabo (1) describes indeed the country about

(8) Voltaire's Hist. not far from the beginning.

(9) Aristeas. p. 13, 14. Edit. Hody. Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 3. Cap. 3. p. 1120. Edit. Hudson.

(1) Strabo. Lib. 16. p. 761. Edit. Par. p. 1104. Edit. Amstel. p. 755. Edit. Par. p. 1095. Edit. Amstel. p. 764. Edit. Par. p. 1106. Edit. Amstel. 1707.

Jerusalem as rocky and barren, but he commends other parts, particularly about Jordan and Jericho. Hecatæus (2) quoted by Josephus giveth it the character of one of the best and most fertil countries. Tacitus (3) saith that it raineth seldom, the soil is fruitful, fruits abound as with us, and besides them the balsam and palm trees. And notwithstanding the long desolation of the land, there is still visible such marks and tokens of fruitfulness, as may convince any man that it once deserved the character, which is given of it in scripture. I would only refer the reader to two learned and ingenious travelers of our own nation, Mr. Maundrell and Dr. Shaw; and he will fully be satisfied of the truth of what is here asserted.

The (4) former says, that "all along this day's travel (Mar. 25.) From Kane Leban to Beer, and also "as far as we could see around the country discovered "a quite different face from what it had before; presenting nothing to the view in most places, but naked "rocks; mountains, and precipices. At sight of which, "pilgrims are apt to be much astonished and baulked in "their expectations; finding that country in such an inhospitable condition, concerning whose pleasantness "and plenty they had before formed in their minds such "high ideas from the description given of it, in the word "of God: insomuch that it almost startles their faith "when they reflect how it could be possible for a land "like this to supply food for so prodigious a number "of inhabitants, as are said to have been polled in the "twelve tribes at one time; the sum given in by Joab "2 Sam. xxiv, amounting to no less than thirteen "hundred thousand fighting men, besides women and "children. But it is certain that any man, who is not "a little biassed to infidelity before, may see, as he passes "along, arguments enough to support his faith against

(2) Joseph. contra Apion, Lib. 1. Sect. 22. ——— της αριστης και παμφοροτατης χωρας—optimi et feracissimi soli. [Translated in the text.]——p. 1348. Edit. Hudson.

(3) Taciti Hist. Lib. 5. rari imbres, uber solum, exuberant fruges nostrum ad morem, præterque eas, balsamum et palmæ. [Translated in the text.]

(4) Maundrell, p. 64, &c, 5th Edit.

" such scruples. For it is obvious for any one to ob-
" serve, that these rocks and hills must have been an-
" ciently covered with earth, and cultivated, and made
" to contribute to the maintenance of the inhabitants,
" no less than if the country had been all plain: nay, per-
" haps much more; forasmuch as such a mountainous
" and uneven surface affords a larger space of ground
" for cultivation, than this country would amount to, if
" it were all reduced to a perfect level. For the husband-
" ing of these mountains, their manner was to gather
" up the stones, and place them in several lines, along
" the sides of the hills, in form of a wall. By such bor-
" ders they supported the mold from tumbling or being
" washed down; and formed many beds of excellent
" soil, rising gradually one above another, from the bot-
" tom to the top of the mountains. Of this form of
" culture you see evident footsteps, wherever you go in
" all the mountains of Palestine. Thus the very rocks
" were made fruitful. And perhaps there is no spot of
" ground in this whole land, that was not formerly im-
" proved, to the production of something or other, mi-
" nistering to the sustenance of human life. For than the
" plain countries nothing can be more fruitful, whether
" for the production of corn or cattle, and consequently
" of milk. The hills, though improper for all cattle
" except goats, yet being disposed into such beds as are
" before described, served very well to bear corn, me-
" lons, gourds, cucumbers, and such like garden stuff,
" which makes the principal food of these countries for
" several months in the year. The most rocky parts of
" all which could not well be adjusted in that manner
" for the production of corn, might yet serve for the
" plantation of vines and olive trees; which delight to
" extract, the one its fatness, the other its sprightly
" juice, chiefly out of such dry and flinty places. And
" the great plain joining to the dead sea, which by rea-
" son of its saltness might be thought unserviceable both
" for cattle, corn, olives and vines, had yet its proper
" usefulness for the nourishment of bees, and for the fa-
" bric of honey; of which Josephus gives us his testi-

" mony, De Bell. Jud. Lib. 5. Cap. 4. And I have rea-
" son to believe it, because when I was there, I per-
" ceived in many places a smell of honey and wax, as
" strong as if one had been in an apiary. Why then
" might not this country very well maintain the vast
" number of its inhabitants, being in every part so pro-
" ductive of either milk, corn, wine, oil, or honey, which
" are the principal food of these eastern nations; the
" constitution of their bodies, and the nature of their
" clime, inclining them to a more abstemious diet than
" we use in England, and other colder regions."

The (5) other asserts, that " the Holy Land, were it
" as well peopled and cultivated. as in former time,
" would be still more fruitful than the very best part
" of the coast of Syria and Phœnice. For the soil itself
" is generally much richer, and all things considered,
" yields a more preferable crop. Thus the cotton that
" is gathered in the plains of Ramah, Esdraelon, and
" Zebulun, is in greater esteem, than what is cultivated
" near Sidon and Tripoly: neither is it possible for
" pulse, wheat, or any sort of grain, to be more excellent
" than what is commonly sold at Jerusalem. The bar-
" renness or scarcity rather, which some authors may
" either ignorantly or maliciously complain of, does not
" proceed from the incapacity or natural unfruitfulness
" of the country, but from the want of inhabitants, and
" the great aversion there is to labor and industry in
" those few who possess it. There are besides such
" perpetual discords and depredations among the petty
" princes, who share this fine country, that allowing it
" was better peopled, yet there would be small encou-
" ragement to sow, when it was uncertain, who should
" gather in the harvest. Otherwise the *land is good land,*
" and still capable of affording its neighbours the like
" supplies of corn and oil which it is known to have
" done in the time of Solomon. The parts particularly
" about Jerusalem, being described to be rocky, and
" mountainous, have been therefore supposed to be

(5) Shaw's Travels, p. 395, &c.

" barren and unfruitful. Yet granting this conclusion, " which is far from being just, a kingdom is not to be " denominated barren or unfruitful from one part of it " only, but from the whole. Nay farther, the blessing " that was given to Judah, was not of the same kind " with the blessing of Asher or of Issachar, that *his* " *bread should be fat,* or *his land should be pleasant,* " but that *his eyes should be red with wine and his* " *teeth should be white with milk.* Gen. xlix. 12. Moses " also maketh milk and honey (the chief dainties and " subsistence of the earlier ages, as they continue to be " of the Bedoween Arabs) to be (6) *the glory of all* " *lands:* all which productions are either actually en- " joyed, or at least might be, by proper care and appli- " cation. The plenty of wine alone is wanting at pre- " sent; yet from the goodness of that little, which is still " made at Jerusalem and Hebron, we find that these bar- " ren rocks (as they are called) might yield a much " greater quantity, if the abstemious Turk and Arab " would permit a further increase and improvement to " be made of the vine, &c."

IV. Nothing can be a stronger or clearer proof of the divine inspiration of the prophets, than their foretelling not only the outward actions, but even the inward dispositions of men, many ages before those men were in being. The prophets were naturally prejudiced in favor of their own nation; but yet they foretel the infidelity and reprobation of the Jews, their disbelief of the Messiah, and thereupon their rejection by God. We will not multiply quotations to this purpose. It will be sufficient to produce one or two passages from the evangelical prophet Isaiah. The 53d chapter is a most famous prophecy of the Messiah; and it begins with upbraiding the Jews for their unbelief, *Who hath believed our report! and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed?* which St. John (xii. 38.) and St. Paul (Rom. x. 16.) have expresly

(6) As Bishop Pearce observes, Is not this a mistake in Dr. Shaw? The words are not of Moses but of Ezekiel, (xx. 6. 15.) and he does not seem to call the *milk and honey* the *glory of all lands;* but the *land,* which did abound with *milk and honey,* he rather calls the *glory of all lands.*

applied to the unbelieving Jews of their time. The prophet assigns the reason too, why they would not receive the Messiah, namely because of his low and afflicted condition: and it is very well known that they rejected him on this account, having all along expected him to come as a temporal prince and deliverer in great power and glory.

The prophet had before been commissioned to declare unto the people the judgments of God for their infidelity and disobedience, (vi. 9, &c.) *And he said, Go ye and tell this people, (this people,* not *my people*) *Hear ye indeed, but understand not; and see ye indeed, but perceive not. Make the heart of this people fat, and make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes; lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and convert, and be healed.* In the stile of scripture the prophets are said *to do* what they declare *will be done:* and in like manner Jeremiah is said (i. 10.) to be *set over the nations and over the kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down, to build and to plant;* because he was authorised to make known the purposes and decrees of God, and because these events would follow in consequence of his prophecies. *Make the heart of this people fat,* is therefore as much as to say, *Denounce my judgment upon this people, that their heart shall be fat, and their ears heavy, and their eyes shut; lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and convert, and be healed.* This prophecy might relate in some measure to the state of the Jews before the Babylonish captivity; but it did not receive its full completion till the days of our Saviour; and in this sense it is understood and applied by the writers of the New Testament, and by our Saviour himself. The prophet is then informed, that this infidelity and obstinacy of his countrymen should be of long duration. *Then said I, Lord, how long? And he answered, Until the cities be wasted without inhabitant, and the houses without man, and the land be utterly desolate, And the Lord have removed men far away, and there be a great forsaking in the midst of the land.* Here

is a remarkable gradation in the denouncing of these judgments. Not only Jerusalem and *the cities should be wasted without inhabitant,* but even the single *houses* should be *without man;* and not only the *houses* of the cities should be *without man,* but even the country should *be utterly desolate;* and not only the people should be removed out of the *land,* but *the Lord* should *remove them far away;* and they should not be removed for a short period, but there should be *a great* or rather *a long forsaking in the midst of the land.* And hath not the world seen all these particulars exactly fulfilled? Have not the Jews labored under a spiritual blindness and infatuation in *hearing but not understanding,* in *seeing but not perceiving* the Messiah, after the accomplishment of so many prophecies, after the performance of so many miracles? And in consequence of their refusing to *convert and be healed,* have not *their cities been wasted without inhabitant, and their houses without man?* Hath not their *land been utterly desolate?* Have they not been *removed far away* into the most distant parts of the earth? And hath not their removal or banishment been now of near 1700 years duration? And do they not still continue deaf and blind, obstinate and unbelieving? The Jews, at the time of the delivery of this prophecy, gloried in being the peculiar church and people of God: and would any Jew of himself have thought or have said, that his nation would in process of time become an infidel and reprobate nation, infidel and reprobate for many ages, oppressed by men, and forsaken by God? It was 750 years before Christ, that Isaiah predicted these things; and how could he have predicted them, unless he had been illuminated by the divine vision; or how could they have succeeded accordingly, unless the spirit of prophecy had been the spirit of God?

V. Of the same nature are the prophecies concerning the calling and obedience of the Gentiles. How could such an event be foreseen hundreds of years before it happened? but the prophets are full of the glorious subject, and speak with delight and rapture of the universal kingdom of the Messiah, that *God would give unto him the*

heathen for his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession. (Psal. ii. 8.) that *all the ends of the world should remember and turn unto the Lord, and all the kindreds of the nations should worship before him;* (Psal. xxii. 27.) that *in the last days the mountain of the house of the Lord should be established in the top of the mountains, and should be exalted above the hills, and all people should flow unto it;* (Micah iv. 1.) which passage is also to be found in Isaiah; (ii. 2.) that *from the rising of the sun even to the going down of the same, my name shall be great among the Gentiles, and in every place incense shall be offered unto my name, and a pure offering: for my name shall be great among the heathens, saith the Lord of hosts.* (Mal. i. 11.) But the prophet Isaiah is more copious upon this as well as other evangelical subjects: and his 49th and 60th chapters treat particularly of the glory of the church in the abundant access of the Gentiles. *It is a light thing that thou shouldst be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel: I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the end of the earth.* (xlix. 6.) *Arise, shine, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee. The Gentiles shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising. The abundance of the sea shall be converted unto thee; the forces of the Gentiles shall come unto thee, &c.* (lx. 1, 3, 5, &c.)

It is as absurd as it is vain in the Jews to apply these prophecies to the proselytes whom they have gained among the nations; for the number of their proselytes was very inconsiderable, and nothing to answer these pompous descriptions. Neither was their religion ever designed by its founder for an universal religion, their worship and sacrifices being confined to one certain place, whither all the males were obliged to repair thrice every year; so that it was plainly calculated for a particular people, and could never become the religion of the whole world. There was indeed to be a religion, which was designed for all nations, to be preached in all, and to be received in all: but what prospect or probability was there;

that such a generous institution should proceed from such a narrow-minded people as the Jews, or that the Gentiles who hated and despised them should ever receive a religion from them? Was it not much more likely, that they should be corrupted by the example of all the nations around them, and be induced to comply with the polytheism and idolatry of some of their powerful neighbours and conquerors, to which they were but too much inclined of themselves; was not this I say, much more likely than that they should be the happy instruments of reforming the world, and converting some of all nations to the worship of the one only God in spirit and in truth?

But the prophet farther intimates, that this great revolution, the greatest that ever was in the religious world, should be effected by a few incompetent persons, and effected too in a short compass of time. *A little one shall become a thousand, and a small one a strong nation: I the Lord will hasten it in his time.* (lx. 22.) Our Saviour's commission to his apostles was, *Go, teach all nations:* and who were the persons to whom this commission was given? those who were best qualified and able to carry it into execution? the rich, the wise, the mighty of this world? No, they were chiefly a few poor fishermen, of low parentage and education, of no learning or eloquence, of no policy or address, of no repute or authority, despised as Jews by the rest of mankind, and as the meanest and worst of Jews by the Jews themselves. And what improper persons were these to contend with the prejudices of all the world, the superstitions of the people, the interests of the priests, the vanity of philosophers, the pride of rulers, the malice of the Jews, the learning of Greece, and the power of Rome?

As this revolution was effected by a few incompetent persons, so was it effected too in a short compass of time. After our Saviour's ascension *the number of disciples together was about an hundred and twenty:* (Acts i. 15.) but they soon increased and multiplied; the first sermon of St. Peter added unto them *about three thousand souls* (ii. 41.) and the second made up the number *about five thousand.* (iv. 4.) Before the destruction of Jerusalem, in the

space of about forty years, the gospel was preached in almost every region of the world then known: And in the reign of Constantine, Christianity became the religion of the empire; and after having suffered a little under Julian it entirely prevailed and triumphed over paganism and idolatry: and still prevails in the most civilized and improved parts of the earth. All this was more than man could foresee, and much more than man could execute; and we experience the good effects of these prophecies at this day. The speedy propagation of the gospel could not have been effected by persons so unequal to the task, if the same divine Spirit who foretold it, had not likewise assisted them in it, according to the promise, *I the Lord will hasten it in his time.* We may be as certain as if we had seen it, that the truth really was, as the evangelist affirms, (Mark xvi. 20.) *They went forth and preached every where, the Lord working with them, and confirming the word with signs following.*

But neither the prophecies concerning the Gentiles, nor those concerning the Jews, have yet received their full and entire completion. Our Saviour hath not yet had *the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession:* (Psal. ii. 8.) *All the ends of the world* have not yet *turned unto the Lord;* (xxii. 27.) *All people, nations, and languages,* have not yet *served him:* (Dan. vii. 14.) These things have hitherto been only partially, but they will even litterally be fulfilled. Neither are the Jews yet made *an eternal excellency, a joy of many generations.* (Is. lx. 15.) The time is not yet come, when *violence shall no more be heard in the land, wasting nor destruction within their borders.* (ver. 18.) God's promises to them are not yet made good in their full extent. *Behold, I will take the children of Israel from among the heathen, whither they be gone, and will gather them on every side, and bring them into their own land. And they shall dwell in the land that I have given unto Jacob my servant, even they and their children, and their childrens children for ever, and my servant David shall be their prince for ever.* (Ezek. xxxvi. 21, 25.) *Then shall they know that I am the Lord their God, who caused them to be led into captivity*

among the heathen; but I have gathered them unto their own land, and have left none of them any more there. Neither will I hide my face any more from them, for I have poured out my spirit upon the house of Israel, saith the Lord God. (xxxix. 28, 29.) However what hath already been accomplished is a sufficient pledge and earnest of what is yet to come: and we have all imaginable reason to believe, since so many of these prophecies are fulfilled, that the remaining prophecies will be fulfilled also: that there will be yet a greater harvest of the nations, and the yet unconverted parts of the earth will be inlightened with the knowledge of the Lord; that the Jews will in God's good time be converted to Christianity, and upon their conversion be restored to their native city and country: and especially since the state of affairs is such, that they may return without much difficulty, having no dominion, no settled country, or fixed property to detain them much any where. We have seen the prophecy of Hosea (iii. 4, 5.) fulfilled in part, and why should we not believe that it will be fulfilled in the whole? *The children of Israel shall abide many days without a king, and without a prince, and without a sacrifice, and without an image* or altar, *and without an ephod* or priest to wear an ephod, *and without teraphim* or divine manifestations. *Afterward shall the children of Israel return, and seek the Lord their God, and David their king, and shall fear the Lord and his goodness in the latter days.*

We have now exhibited a summary view of the prophecies of the Old Testament more immediately relative to the present state and condition of the Jews: and what stronger and more convincing arguments can you require of the truth both of the Jewish and of the Christian religion? The Jews were once the peculiar people of God: and as St. Paul saith, (Rom. xi. 1.) *Hath God cast away his people? God forbid.* We see that after so many ages they are still preserved by a miracle of providence a distinct people; and why is such a continual miracle exerted, but for the greater illustration of the divine truth, and the better accomplishment of the divine promises, as well those which are yet to be, as

those which are already fulfilled? We see that the great empires, which in their turns subdued and oppressed the people of God, are all come to ruin: because tho' they executed the purposes of God, yet that was more than they understood; all that they intended was to satiate their own pride and ambition, their own cruelty and revenge. And if such hath been the fatal end of the enemies and oppressors of the Jews, let it serve as a warning to all those, who at any time or upon any occasion are for raising a clamor and persecution against them. They are blameable no doubt for persisting in their infidelity after so many means of conviction; but this is no warrant or authority for us to prescribe, to abuse, injure, and oppress them, as Christians of more zeal than either knowlege or charity have in all ages been apt to do. *Charity is greater than faith:* and it is worse in us to be cruel and uncharitable, than it is in them to be obstinate and unbelieving. Persecution is the spirit of popery, and in the worst of popish countries the Jews are the most cruelly used and persecuted: the spirit of protestantism is toleration and indulgence to weaker consciences. Compassion to this unhappy people is not to defeat the prophecies; for only wicked nations were to harrass and oppress them, the good were to show mercy to them; and we should choose rather to be the dispensers of God's mercies than the executioners of his judgments. Read the eleventh chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, and see what the great apostle of the Gentiles, who certainly understood the prophecies better than any of us can pretend to do, saith of the infidelity of the Jews. Some of the Gentiles of his time valued themselves upon their superior advantages, and he reproves them for it, that they who *were cut out of the olive-tree which is wild by nature, and were graffed contrary to nature into a good olive-tree,* should presume to *boast against the natural branches:* (ver. 24, 18.) but what would he have said, how would he have flamed and lightened, if they had made religion an instrument of faction, and had been for stirring up a persecution against them? We should consider, that to them we owe the oracles of God,

the scriptures of the New Testament as well as the Old: we should consider, that *the glorious company of the apostles* as well as *the goodly fellowship of the prophets* were Jews: we should consider, that of *them as concerning the flesh Christ came*, the Saviour of the world: and surely something of kindness and gratitude is due for such infinite obligations. Tho' they are now broken off, yet they are not utterly cast away. *Because of unbelief*, as St. Paul argues (ver. 20.) *they were broken off, and thou standest by faith: Be not high-minded, but fear.* There will be a time when they will be graffed in again, and again become the people of God; for as the apostle proceeds, (ver. 25, 26) *I would not brethren that ye should be ignorant of this mystery (lest you should be wise in your own conceits) that blindness in part is happened to Israel, until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in; and so all Israel shall be saved.* And which (think ye) is the most likely method to contribute to their conversion, which are the most natural means to reconcile them to us and our religion, prayer, argument, long suffering, gentleness, goodness; or noise and invective, injury and outrage, the malice of some, and the folly and madness of more? They cannot be worse than when they crucified the Son of God, and persecuted his apostles; but what saith our Saviour; (Luke xxiii. 34.) *Father forgive them, for they know not what they do:* what saith his apostle St. Paul? (Rom. x. 1.) *Brethren, my heart's desire and prayer to God for Israel is, that they might be saved.* In conformity to these blessed examples our church hath also taught us to pray for them: and how can prayer and persecution consist and agree together? They are only pretended friends to the church, but real enemies to religion, who encourage persecution of any kind. All true sons of the church, all true protestants, all true christians will, as the apostle adviseth, (Eph. iv. 31.) *put away all bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamor, and evil speaking, with all malice:* and will join heart and voice in that excellent collect—*Have mercy upon all Jews, Turks, infidels, and heretics, and take from them all ignorance, hardness of heart, and contempt of thy word: and so*

fetch them home, blessed Lord, to thy flock, that they may be saved among the remnant of the true Israelites, and be made one fold under one shepherd, Jesus Christ our Lord.

IX.

THE PROPHECIES CONCERNING NINEVEH.

AS the Jews were the peculiar people of God, the prophets were sent to them chiefly, and the main subjects of the prophecies are the various changes and revolutions in the Jewish church and state. But the spirit of prophecy is not limited there; other subjects are occasionally introduced; and for the greater manifestation of the divine providence, the fate of other nations is also foretold: and especially of those nations, which lay in the neighbourhood of Judea, and had intercourse and connections with the Jews; and whose good or ill fortune therefore was of some concern and consequence to the Jews themselves. But here it is greatly to be lamented, that of these eastern nations and of these early times we have very short and imperfect accounts; we have no regular histories, but only a few fragments of history, which have escaped the general shipwrack of time. If we possessed the Assyrian history written by Abydenus, and the Chaldæan by Berosus, and the Egyptian by Manetho; we might in all probability be better enabled to explain the precise meaning, and to demonstrate the exact completion of several ancient prophecies: but for want of such helps and assistances we must be glad of a little glimmering light, wherever we can see it. We see enough however, tho' not to discover the beauty and exactness of each particular, yet to make us admire in the general these wonders of pro-

vidence, and to show that the condition of cities and kingdoms hath been such, as the prophets had long ago foretold. And we will begin with the instance of Nineveh.

Nineveh was the metropolis of the Assyrian empire, and the Assyrians were formidable enemies to the kingdoms both of Israel and Judah. In the days of Menahem king of Israel Pul the king of Assyria invaded the land and was bought off with a thousand talents of silver. (2 Kings xv. 19.) A few years afterwards *in the days of Pekah king of Israel came Tiglath-pileser king of Assyria, and took* several cities, *and Gilead, and Galilee, all the land of Naphtali, and carried them captive to Assyria.* (2 Kings xv. 29.) The same Tiglath-pileser was invited by Ahaz king of Judah to come and assist him, against Rezin king of Syria, and Pekah king of Israel: *And Ahaz took the silver and gold that was found in the house of the Lord, and in the treasures of the king's house, and sent it for a present to the king of Assyria.* (2 Kings xvi. 8.) The king of Assyria came accordingly to his assistance, and routed his enemies: but still as another sacred writer saith, *distressed him, and strengthened him not.* (2 Chron. xxviii. 20.) A little after in the days of Hoshea king of Israel *Shalmaneser the king of Assyria came up throughout all the land,* and after a siege of three years *took Samaria, and carried Israel away into Assyria, and placed them in Halah, and in Habor by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes.* (2 Kings xvii. 5, 6.) It was *in the sixth year of Hezekiah,* king of Judah, that Shalmaneser king of Assyria carried Israel away captive: and *in the fourteenth year of king Hezekiah, did Sennacherib king of Assyria come up against all the fenced cities of Judah and took them.* (2 Kings xvii. 10, 13.) And the king of Assyria exacted of the king of Judah *three hundred talents of silver and thirty talents of gold;* so that even good king Hezekiah was forced to *give him all the silver that was found in the house of the Lord, and in the treasures of the king's house.* (ver. 14, 15.) Sennacherib notwithstanding sent his captains *with a great host against Jerusalem* (ver. 17:) but his army was miraculously de-

feated, and he himself was afterwards slain at Nineveh, (2 Kings xix. 35, 36, 37.) His son Esarhaddon compleated the deportation of the Israelites, *and brought men from Babylon, and from Cuthah, and from Ava, and from Hamath, and from Sepharvaim, and placed them in the cities of Samaria instead of the children of Israel; and they possessed Samaria, and dwelt in the cities thereof.* (2 Kings xvii. 24. Ezra iv. 2.) We see then that the Assyrians totally destroyed the kingdom of Israel, and greatly oppressed the kingdom of Judah: and no wonder therefore that they are made the subject of several prophecies.

The prophet Isaiah denounceth the judgments of God against Sennacherib in particular, and against the Assyrians in general. *O Assyrian, the rod of mine anger,* or rather, *Woe to the Assyrian, the rod of mine anger,* (x. 5.) God might employ them as the ministers of his wrath, and executioners of his vengeance; and so make the wickedness of some nations the means of correcting that of others: *I will send him against an hypocritical nation; and against the people of my wrath will I give him a charge to take the spoil, and to take the prey, and to tread them down like the mire in the streets.* (ver. 6.) But it was far from any intent of theirs to execute the divine will, or to chastise the vices of mankind; they only meant to extend their conquests, and establish their own dominion upon the ruins of others: *Howbeit he meaneth not so, neither doth his heart think so, but it is in his heart to destroy, and cut off nations not a few.* (ver. 7.) Wherefore when they shall have served the purposes of divine providence, they shall be severely punished for their pride and ambition, their tyranny and cruelty to their neighbours: *Wherefore it shall come to pass, that when the Lord hath performed his whole work upon mount Zion, and on Jerusalem, I will punish the fruit of the stout heart of the king of Assyria, and the glory of his high looks.* (ver. 12.) There was no prospect of such an event, while the Assyrians were in the midst of their successes and triumphs; but still the word of the prophet prevailed; and it was not long after these calamities

brought upon the Jews, of which we have given a short deduction, that the Assyrian empire properly so called was overthrown, and Nineveh destroyed.

Nineveh, or Ninus, as it was most usually called by the Greeks and Romans, was, as we said before, the capital city of the Assyrian empire; and the capital is frequently put for the whole empire, the prosperity or ruin of the one being involved in that of the other. This was a very ancient city, being built by Asshur or as others say by Nimrod; for those words of Moses, (Gen. x. 11.) which our translators together with most of the ancient versions render thus, *Out of that land went forth Asshur and builded Nineveh*, others translate, as the (1) Chaldee paraphrast translates them, and as they are rendered in the margin of our bibles, *Out of that land he*, that is Nimrod, the person spoken of before, *went forth into Assyria and built Nineveh*. It is well known that the word *Asshur* in Hebrew is the name of the country as well as the name of the man, and the preposition is often omitted, so that the words may very well be translated *he went forth into Assyria*. And Moses is here giving an account of the sons of Ham, and it may seem foreign to his subject to intermix the story of any the sons of Shem, as Asshur was. Moses afterwards recounts the sons of Shem, and Asshur among them; and it is presumed that he would hardly relate his actions, before he had mentioned his nativity, or even his name, contrary to the series of the genealogy and to the order of the history. But this notwithstanding I incline to understand the text litterally as it is translated, *Out of that land went forth Asshur*, being expelled thence by Nimrod, *and builded Nineveh* and other cities, in opposition to the cities which Nimrod had founded in the land of Shinar. And neither is it foreign to the subject, nor contrary to the order of the history, upon the mention of Nimrod's invading and seising the territories of Asshur, to relate whither Asshur retreated and where he fortified himself against him. But by whomsoever Ni-

(1) De terra illa egressus est in Assyriam. [Out of that land he entered into Assyria.] Onk.

neveh was built, it might afterwards be greatly inlarged and improved by Ninus, and called after his name, whoever Ninus was, for that is altogether uncertain.

As it was a very ancient, so was it likewise a very great city. In Jonah it is stiled *that great city,* (i. 2. iii. 2.) *an exceeding great city.* (iii. 3.) In the original it is (2) *a city great to God;* in the same manner as Moses is called by St. Stephen in the Acts of the Apostles (vii. 20.) ασειος τῳ Θεῳ, *fair to God,* or *exceeding fair,* as our translators rightly render it; and so *the mountains of God* (Psal. xxxvi. 6.) are exceeding high mountains, and *the cedars of God* (Ps. lxxx. 10.) are exceeding tall cedars. It was therefore *an exceeding great city;* and the scripture-account is confirmed by the testimony of heathen authors. Strabo (3) says that Nineveh was much greater even than Babylon: and (4) Diodorus Siculus from Ctesias affirms that, its builder Ninus 'proposed to build a city of such magnitude, that it 'should not only be the greatest of the cities which 'were then in all the world, but that none of those 'who should be born after that time attempting the like 'should easily exceed it;' and a little after he subjoins, that 'nobody afterwards built such a city, either as to 'the greatness of the compass, or as to the magnificence of the walls.' It is added in Jonah (iii. 3.) that it was (5) *an exceeding great city of three days jour-*

(2) עיר־גדולה לאלהים Deo magna civitas, πολις μεγαλη τῳ Θεῳ. [a city great to God.] Sept.

(3) πολυ δε μειζων ην της Βαβυλωνος. Ea multo major erat Babylone. [It was much greater than Babylon.] Strabo. Lib. 16. p. 737. Edit. Paris. p. 1071. Ed Am. 1707.

(4) ——————ισπευδε τηλικαυτην κτισαι το μεγεθος πολιν, ὡς τε μη μονον αυτην ειναι μεγιστην των τοτε οσων κατα πασαν την οικουμενην, αλλα μηδε των μεταγενεστερων ἑτερων επιβαλλομενον ῥαδιως ἀν ὑπερβεσθαι. tantæ quoque molis urbem condere festinabat, ut non modo omnium tunc in orbe terrarum maxima existeret, sed etiam ut nemo post genitorum tale quid aggressus ipsum facile superaret. [Translated in the text.]——————τηλικαυτην γαρ πολιν ουδεις ὑστερον εκτισε κατα τε το μεγεθος του περιβολου, και την περι το τειχος μεγαλοπρεπειαν. A nullo enim postmodum urbs tanto ambitus spatio, tantaque magnificentia mœnium exstructa fuit. [Translated in the text.] Diod. Siculus. Lib. 2. p. 65. Edit. Steph. p. 91, 92. Edit. Rhod.

(5) Civitas magna, et tanti ambitus; ut vix trium dierum posset itinere circumiri. [A large city, and of so extensive a circuit, that it could scarcely be travelled round in the space of three days.] Hieron. Comment. in locum. p. 1486. Vol. 3. Edit. Benedict.

ney, that is of three days journey in circuit, as St Jerome and the best commentators expound it. Strabo, as it was observed before, hath said that Nineveh was much larger than Babylon; and a little afterwards he says, that (6) the circuit of Babylon was 385 furlongs: but (7) Diodorus Siculus asserts that the whole circuit of Nineveh was 480 furlongs; which (8) makes somewhat more than 60 miles, and 60 miles were three days journey, 20 miles a day being the common computation of a foot traveler. It is farther said in Jonah (iv. 11,) that in Nineveh *there were more than sixscore thousand persons who could not discern between their right hand, and their left hand, and also much cattle.* I think it is (9) generally calculated that the young children of any place are a fifth part of the inhabitants; and if we admit of that calculation, the whole number of inhabitants in Nineveh amounted to above six hundred thousand: which number will appear by no means incredible, if we consider the dimensions of the city as given by (1) Diodorus Siculus, that it was in length 150 furlongs, in breadth 90 furlongs, and in circuit 480 furlongs, that is 20 miles long, about 12 miles broad, and

(6) *τον δε κυκλον εχει τω τειχες τριακοσιων ογδοηκοντα πεντε σταδιων.* muri ambitu CCCXXCV stadiorum. Its walls were three hundred and eighty-five furlongs in circumference. Strabo. ibid. p. 738. Edit. Paris, p. 1072. Edit. Amstel. 1707.

(7) *τω συμπαντος περιβολω συνταθεντος εκ σταδιων τετρακοσιων και ογδηκοντα.* Ambitus totus stadiis CCCCXXC constat. [The whole circumference measured four hundred and eighty furlongs.] Lib. 2. p. 56. Ed. Steph. p. 92. Ed. Rhodoman.

(8) Nini circuitus stadiorum fuisse CCCCLXXX, id est milliarium sexaginta; quæ triduanum iter facient, si singulorum dierum iter æstimes viginti milliaribus: quomodo definierunt non Jurisconsulti solum, sed et Græcorum vetustissimi. Herodotus Lib. 5. Cap. 53. *πεντηκοντα δε και εκατον σταδια επ' ημερη εκαστη διεξιεσι, centum et quinquaginta stadia unoquoque die peragrantibus.* CL stadia sunt viginti milliaria, &c. [The circumference of Nineveh measured four hundred and eighty furlongs, that is sixty miles, which will make a three days journey, allowing twenty miles for each day, as not only the Roman lawyers, but also the ancient Greeks, measured. Herodotus, in Book V. Chap. xxxv. saith *they marched an hundred and fifty stadia each day.* Now an hundred and fifty *stadia,* make twenty miles.] Bocharti Phal. Lib. 4 C. 20. Col. 252.

(9) Bochart. ibid. Col. 253. Lowth's Comment. and Calmet's.

(1) *εχει δε των μεν μακροτερων πλευρων εκατεραν η πολις ρν σταδιων, των και βραχυτερων, ενενηκοντα. κ. τ. λ.* Latus utrinque longius ad CL stadia excurrit; reliqua duo minora, XC obtinent, &c. [Each of the two longer sides measured one hundred and fifty furlongs, and each of the two shorter ninety.] Diod. Sic. ibid.

above 60 miles in compass. A city of such dimensions might easily contain such a number of inhabitants, and many more: and at the same time there might be, as there are in most of the great cities of the east, large vacant spaces for gardens or for pasture; so that there might be, as the sacred text asserts there was, *also much cattle.* But according to the (2) modern method of calculation the number of the Ninevites is reduced much lower. For allowing that the number of infants was one hundred and thirty thousand, as the scripture saith that they were *more* than one hundred and twenty thousand; yet these making but three tenths of the inhabitants, the number of citizens will appear to have amounted to four hundred and twenty-three thousand. London and Paris stand not upon one quarter of the ground, and yet are supposed to contain more inhabitants; London even more than the former calculation, and Paris more than the latter; it being (3) computed that in London there are about 725,943 persons, and about 437,478 in Paris.

The inhabitants of Nineveh, like those of other great cities, abounding in wealth and luxury, became very corrupt in their morals. Whereupon it pleased God to commission the prophet Jonah to preach unto them the necessity of repentance, as the only means of averting their impending destruction: and such was the success of his preaching, that both the king and the people repented and turned from their evil ways, and thereby for a time delayed the execution of the divine judgments. Who this king of Assyria was we cannot be certain, we can only make conjectures, his name not being mentioned in the book of Jonah. Archbishop Usher (4) supposeth him to have been Pul the king of Assyria, who afterward invaded the kingdom of Israel, in the days of Menahem; (2 Kings xv. 19.) it being very agreeable to the methods of providence to make use of an heathen king who was penitent, to punish the

(2) Maitland's Hist. of London. Book 3. Chap. 2. p. 542.
(3) Maitland, p. 541, et 548.
(4) See Usher's Annals, A. M. 3233. p. 58. and Lowth's Comment.

impenitency of God's own people Israel. But it should seem more probable, that this prince was one of the kings of Assyria, before any of those who are mentioned in scripture. For Jonah is reckoned the most ancient of all the prophets usually so called, whose writings are preserved in the canon of scripture. We know that he prophesied of the restoration of the coasts of Israel taken by the king of Syria, which was accomplished by Jeroboam the second: (2 Kings xiv. 25.) and therefore Jonah must have lived before that time; and is with great reason supposed by Bishop Lloyd in his Chronological Tables to have prophesied at the latter end of Jehu's, or the beginning of the reign of Jehoahaz, when the kingdom of Israel was reduced very low, and greatly oppressed by Hazael king of Syria. (2 Kings x. 32.) If he prophesied at that time, there intervened Jehoahaz's reign of seventeen years, Joash's reign of sixteen years, Jeroboam's of forty and one years, Zachariah's of six months, Shallum's of one month, and Menahem was seated on the throne of Israel, before any mention is made of Pul the king of Assyria: and therefore we may reasonably conclude from the distance of time, which was above seventy years, that Jonah was not sent to Pul the king of Assyria, but to one of his predecessors, tho' to whom particularly we are unable to discover, for the want before complained of, the want of Assyrian histories, which no doubt would have related so memorable a transaction.

But this repentance of the Ninevites, we may presume, was of no long continuance. For not many years after we find the prophet Nahum foretelling the total and entire destruction of the city; tho' there is no certainty of the time of Nahum's, any more than of Jonah's prophesying. Josephus (5) saith that he florished in the

(5) Ην δε τις κατα τουτον τον καιρον προφητης Ναουμος τ' ονομα. Erat autem quidem eo tempore vates, cui nomen Nahumus. [There was a certain prophet at this time, whose name was Nahum.] συνεβη δε παντα τα προειρημενα περι Νινευης μετα ετη εκατον και πεντεκαιδεκα, evenerunt autem omnia quæ de Nineveh prædicta sunt centum et quindecim post annos. [All these things which were foretold by him, concerning Nineveh, were accomplished one hundred and fifteen years afterwards.] Jos. Antiq. Lib. 9. Cap. 11. Sect. 3. p. 422, 423. Edit. Hudson.

time of Jotham king of Judah, and that all the things which he foretold concerning Nineveh came to pass one hundred and fifteen years afterwards. St. Jerome (6) placeth him under Hezekiah, king of Judah, and saith that his name by interpretation is *a comforter;* for the ten tribes being carried away by the king of Assyria, this vision was to comfort them in their captivity; nor was it a less consolation to the other two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, who remained in the land, and were besieged by the same enemies, to hear that these conquerors would in time be conquered themselves, their city be taken, and their empire overthrown. All that is said of him in scripture is *Nahum the Elkoshite,* (Nahum i. 1.) which title in all probability was given him from the place of his nativity; and (7) St. Jerome supposeth it to have been a village in Galilee, the ruins whereof were shown to him, when he traveled in those parts. Now we learn from the sacred history, (2 Kings xv. 29.) that the people of *Galilee were taken by Tiglathpileser king of Assyria, and carried captive into Assyria.* It is not improbable therefore, that at that time this prophet who was a Galilean, might be instructed to foretel the fall of Nineveh: and that time coincides with the reign of Jotham king of Judah, which is the time assigned

(6) Naum, qui interpretatur, *consolator.* Jam enim decem tribus ab Assyriis deductæ fuerant in captivitatem sub Ezechia rege Juda, sub quo etiam nunc in consolationem populi transmigrati, adversum Nineven visio cernitur. Nec erat parva consolatio, tam his qui jam Assyriis serviebant, quam reliquis qui sub Ezechia de tribu Juda et Benjamin ab iisdem hostibus obsidebantur; ut audirent Assyrios quoque a Chaldæis esse capiendos, sicut in consequentibus hujus libri demonstrabitur. [Nahum, which is by interpretation "a Comforter." For during the reign of Hezekiah the king of Judah, the ten tribes had been led into captivity by the Assyrians, and at that very time the prophet had a vision against Nineveh, for the comfort of these captives. Nor was it a small consolation as well to such of the Israelites as were now in bondage to the Assyrians, as to the remaining tribes of Judah and Benjamin, who were now attacked by the same enemies; to learn that the Assyrians in their turn would be led into captivity by the Chaldees, as will be shewn in the sequel of this book.] Hieron. Prol. in Naum. p. 1558. Vol. 3. Edit. Benedict.

(7) Elcesi usque hodie in Galilæa viculus, parvus quidem, et vix ruinis veterum ædificiorum indicans vestigia; sed tamen notus Judæis; et mihi quoque a circumducente monstratus. [Elkosh, at this very day is a village in Galilee, small indeed, and scarcely in its ruins discovering any vestiges of its ancient buildings. It is however well known to the Jews, and was pointed out to me by my conductor.] Hieron. ibid. p. 1559.

for Nahum's prophesying by Josephus. But if Josephus was right in this particular, he was wrong in another; for more than one hundred and fifteen years intervened between the reign of Jotham king of Judah, and the destruction of Nineveh, as it is usually computed by chronologers. There is one thing, which might greatly assist us in fixing the time of Nahum's prophesying; and that is the destruction of No-Amon or Diospolis in Egypt, which he mentions (Chap. iii. 8, &c.) as a late transaction, if we could know certainly, when that destruction happened, or by whom it was affected. It is commonly attributed to Nebuchadnezzar; but that time is too late, and the destruction of No-Amon would fall out after the destruction of Nineveh instead of before it. Dr. Prideaux (8) with more reason believes, that it was effected by Sennacherib, before he marched against Jerusalem; and then Nahum's prophesying would coincide exactly with the reign of Hezekiah, which is the time assigned for it by St. Jerome.

But whenever it was that Nahum prophesied, he plainly and largely foretold the destruction of Nineveh; his whole prophecy relates to this single event: and the city was accordingly destroyed by the Medes and Babylonians. This point I think is generally agreed upon, that Nineveh was taken and destroyed by the Medes and Babylonians; these two rebelling and uniting together subverted the Assyrian empire: but authors differ much about the time when Nineveh was taken, and about the king of Assyria in whose reign it was taken, and even about the persons who had the command in this expedition. Herodotus (9) affirms, that it was taken by Cyaxares king of the Medes; St. Jerome after the Hebrew chronicle (1) asserts that it was taken by Nabucho-

(8) Prid. Connect. Part 1. Book 1. Anno 713. Hezek. 15.

(9) Herod. Lib. 1. Cap. 106. p. 45. Edit. Gale.

(1) Hieron. in Naum II. 12. p. 1574. Vol. 3. Edit. Benedict. Seder Olam Rabba soli Nabuchodonosoro rem attribuit, et tempus ponit. Anno primo Nabuchodonosor subegit Nineven, id est, non diu post mortem patris. Ebraicum hoc Chronicon secuti sunt S. Hieronymus, &c. [Seder Olam Rabba ascribes the taking of Nineveh to Nabuchodonosor alone, and fixes the time. For in his first year, Nabuchodonosor took Nineveh, that is, soon after the death of his father——This Hebrew Chronicle is followed by Jerome, &c.] Marshami, Ch. Sæc. XVIII. p. 559.

donosor king of the Babylonians; but these accounts may be easily reconciled, for Cyaxares and Nabuchodonosor might take it with their joint forces, as they actually did according to that which is written in the book of Tobit, (xiv. 15.) if the Assuerus in Tobit be the same (as there is great reason to think him the same) with the Cyaxares of Herodotus; *But before Tobias died, he heard of the destruction of Nineveh, which was taken by Nabuchodonosor and Assuerus; and before his death he rejoiced over Nineveh.* Josephus (2) who saith in one place that the empire of the Assyrians was dissolved by the Medes, saith in another that the Medes and Babylonians, dissolved the empire of the Assyrians. Herodotus himself (3) saith that the Medes took Nineveh, and subdued the Assyrians, except the Babylonian portion; the reason of which was, the Babylonians were their allies and confederates. Ctesias, and after him (4) Diodorus Siculus ascribe the taking of Nineveh, and the subversion of the Assyrian empire, to Arbaces the Mede assisted by Belesis the Babylonian. I know that (5) Eusebius, and after him several excellent chro-

(2) συνιβη την των Ασσυριων αρχην υπο Μηδων καταλυθηναι. Assyriorum imperium a Medis eversum iri contigit. [It came to pass that the empire of the Assyrians was dissolved by the Medes.] Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 10. Cap. 2. Sect. 2. p. 435——Μηδος και τους Βαβυλωνιους, οι την Ασσυριων κατελυσαν αρχην. Medos et Babylonios, qui Assyriorum everterant imperium. [The Medes and the Babylonians who had destroyed the empire of the Assyrians.] ibid. Cap. 5. Sect. 1. p. 441. Edit. Hudson.

(3) και την τε Νινον εἱλον, και τους Ασσυριους υποχειριους εποιησαντο, πλην της Βαβυλωνιης μοιρης. et Ninum expugnaverunt, Assyriosque, excepta Babylonica portione, subegerunt. [They took Nineveh, and subdued the Assyrians, excepting the portion which belonged to Babylon.] Herod. Lib. Cap. i. 106. p. 45. Edit. Gale.

(4) Diod. Sic. Lib. ii. p. 78. Edit. Steph. p. 110. Edit. Rhodomani.

(5) Eusebius (more suo) utramque sententiam in Canonem retulit: ad mentem Ctesiæ, *Arbaces Medus*, ait, Num. 1179. *Assyriorum imperio destructo, regnum in Medos transtulit.* Dein (post annos 213) ex auctoritate Herodoti, Numb. 1410. *Cyaxares Medus subvertit Ninum.* Ista autem ασυγατα sunt. [Eusebius (according to the plan which he had adopted,) hath stated both these opinions. For following Ctesias, he saith, Arbaces the Mede, (Num. 1197.) having destroyed the empire of the Assyrians, transferred the sovereignty to the Medes. And again, (213 years afterwards,) upon the credit of Herodotus, (Num. 1410.) he saith, Cyaxares, the Mede destroyed Nineveh. But these assertions are inconsistent.] Marshami Chronicon. Sæc. xviii. p. 556.

nologers, Usher, Prideaux, and others reckon this quite a different action, and fix it at quite a different time; but it is not likely that the same city should be twice destroyed, and the same empire twice overthrown, by the same people twice confederated together. Diodorus, who relates this catastrophe, doth not mention the other; but saith expresly, (6) that Arbaces distributed the citizens of Nineveh in the country villages, leveled the city with the ground, transferred many talents of gold and silver to Ecbatana the royal city of the Medes; and so, saith he, the empire of the Assyrians was subverted. If there is some difficulty in discovering the persons by whom Nineveh was taken, there is more in ascertaining the king of Assyria in whose reign it was taken, and more still in fixing the time when it was taken, scarce any two chronologers agreeing in the same date: but as these things are hardly possible to be known, so neither are they necessary to be known, with precision and exactness; and we may safely leave them among the uncertainties of ancient history and chronology.

It is sufficient for our purpose, that Nineveh was taken and destroyed according to the predictions: and Nahum foretold not only the thing, but also the manner of it. Herodotus promised to relate in his Assyrian history how Nineveh was taken; (7) the Medes took Nineveh, saith he, but how they took it, I will show in

(6) ὁ δ' ων Αρβακης τοις κατα την πολιν επιεικως προσενεχθεις, αυτους μεν κατα κωμας διωκισε,——την δε πολιν εις εδαφος κατεσκαψεν. επειτα τον τε αργυρον και χρυσον, πολλων οντα ταλαντων, απεκομισε της Μηδιας εις Εκβατανα. η μεν ων ηγεμονια των Ασσυριων——ὑπο Μηδων κατελυθη τον προειρημενον τροπον. Simili quoque lenitate erga cives usus, quamvis in pagos eos distraheret,——urbem autem solo æquavit. Tum argentum et aurum—(multa certe talenta erant) in Ecbatana Medorum regiam transtulit. Hoc ergo modo Assyriorum imperium——a Medis eversum est. [But Arbaces behaving with clemency to the citizens, dispersed them among the country villages. The city he levelled with the ground.—Then he conveyed the gold and silver, of which there were many talents, to Ecbatana, the metropolis of Media.—In this manner the dominion of the Assyrians was put an end to by the Medes.] Diod. Sic. Lib. 2. p. 81. Edit. Steph. p. 115. Edit. Rhod.

(7) Και την δε Νινον εἱλον (ὡς δε εἱλον, εν ετεροισι λογοισι δηλωσω.) et Ninum expugnaverunt: (ut autem ceperint, in aliis mox scriptis indicabo.) [And they also took Nineveh, but in what manner they took it I shall shew elsewhere.] Herod. Lib. 1. Cap. 106. p. 45. Edit. Gale.

another work. Again afterwards he mention his design of writing the Assyrian history. Speaking of the kings of Babylon he saith, (8) of these I shall make mention in the Assyrian history. But to our regret this history was never finished, or is lost. More probably it was never finished, for otherwise some or other of the ancients would have mentioned it. If it had been extant with his other works, it would in all probability have been of great service in illustrating several passages in Nahum's prophecies. It is however something fortunate, that we can in some measure supply this loss out of Diodorus Siculus. Nahum prophesies, that the Assyrians should be taken while they were drunken (i. 10.) *For while they be folden together as thorns, and while they are drunken as drunkards, they shall be devoured as stubble full dry:* and (9) Diodorus relates, that 'it was while all the Assyrian army were feasting for 'their former victories, that those about Arbaces being 'informed by some deserters of the negligence and 'drunkenness in the camp of the enemies, assaulted 'them unexpectedly, by night, and falling orderly on 'them disorderly, and prepared on them unprepared, 'became masters of the camp, and slew many of the 'soldiers, and drove the rest into the city.' Nahum foretels (ii. 6.) that *the gates of the rivers shall be opened, and the palace shall be dissolved:* and (1) Dio-

(8) των εν τοισι Ασσυριοισι λογοισι μνημην ποιησομαι. quorum in exponendis rebus Assyriis mentionem faciam. [Of whom I shall make mention in giving an account of the Assyrians.] Lib. 1. Cap. 184. p. 76. Edit. Gale. Vossius de Hist. Græc. Lib. 1. Cap. 3. Fabricius Bib. Græc. Lib. 2. Cap. 20.

(9) διοπερ της δυναμεως απασης εξιωμενης, οι περι τον Αρβακην παρα τινων αυτομολων πυθομενοι την εν τη παρεμβολη των πολεμιων ραθυμιαν και μεθην, νυκτω απροσδοκητως την επιθεσιν εποιησαντο· προσπεσοντες δε ζυντεταγμενοι μεν ασυντακτοις, ετοιμοι δε απαρασκευοις, τες τε παρεμβολης εκρατησαν, και των γρατιωτων πολλους ανελοντες, τους αλλους μεχρι της πολεως κατεδιωξαν. Toto igitur exercitu conviviis indulgente, Arba cesper transfugas de negligentia et ebrietate hostium edoctus, noctu ex improviso illos opprimit. Et quoniam compositi incompositos, parati imparatos invadebant, facile et castra expugnant, et vastam hostium stragem edunt, et reliquos in urbem compellunt. [Translated in the text.] Diod. Sic. Lib. 2 p. 80. Edit. Steph. p. 112. Edit. Rhod.

(1) ην δ' αυτω λογιον παραδεδομενον εκ προγονων ότι την Νινον ουδεις ελη κατα κρατος, εαν μη προτερον ο ποταμος τη πολει γενηται πολεμιος.——τω τριτω δ' ετει ζυνεχως ομβροις βαγδαιων καταβραγεντος, συνεβη τον Ευφρατην

dorus informs us, 'that there was an old prophecy, that 'Nineveh should not be taken, till the river became an 'enemy to the city; and in the third year of the siege, 'the river being swoln with continual rains, overflowed 'part of the city, and broke down the wall for 20 fur-'longs; then the king thinking that the oracle was ful-'filled, and the river become an enemy to the city, built 'a large funeral pile in the palace, and collecting toge-'ther all his wealth and his concubines and eunuchs, 'burnt himself and the palace with them all; and the 'enemy entered the breach that the waters had made, 'and took the city.' What was predicted in the first chapter (ver. 8.) was therefore litterally fulfilled, *With an overrunning flood he will make an utter end of the*

[Τιγριν] μιγαν γενομενον κατακλυσαι τε μερ☉ της πολεως, και καταβαλειν το τειχ☉ επι σταδιους εικοσιν. ενταυθα ὁ βασιλευς νομισας τετελεσθαι τον χρησμον, και τη πολει τον πολεμον γεγονεναι φανερως πολεμιον, απηγγω την ζωηριαν. ινα δε μη τοις πολεμιοις γενηται ὑποχειρι☉, πυραν εν τοις βασιλειοις κατεσκευασεν ὑπερμεγεθη, και τον τε χρυσον και τον αργυρον απαντα, πρ☉ δε τουτοις την βασιλικην εσθητα πασαν επι ταυτην εσωρευσε. τας δε παλλακιδας και τους ευνουχους ζυγκλεισας εις τον εν μεση τη πυρα κατεσκευασμενον οικον, αμα τουτοις απασιν ἑαυτον τε και τα βασιλεια κατεκαυσεν. οἱ δ' αποσταται, πυθομενοι την απολειαν Σαρδαναπαλου, της μεν πολεως εκρατησαν, εισπεσοντες κατα το πεπτωκ☉ μερ☉ του τειχους. Atqui vaticinium a majoribus traditum habebat. A nullo capi Ninum posse, nisi fluvius urbi prius hostis evaderet—Tertio demum anno accidit, ut Euphrates [Tigris] continuis imbrium gravissimorum tempestatibus excrescens, urbis partem inundaret, et murum ad stadia xx dejiceret. Tum vero finem habere oraculum, annemque manifeste urbi hostem esse, rex judicans, spem salutis abjecit. Itaque ne in hostium manus perveniret, rogum in regia ingentem extruxit; quo aurum et argentum omne, et quicquid erat regii vestimenti, congessit. Tum concubinis et eunuchis in domunculam, quam in medio pyræ exstruxerat, conclusis, se regiamque cum illis omnibus incendio absumpsit. Cujus interitum cum audissent, qui a rege defecerant, per collapsam muri partem ingressi, urbem ceperunt. [But there was a prophecy handed down by tradition from their ancestors, that no one should ever take Nineveh by force, till the river had first become an enemy to the city. But it came to pass in the third year, that the Euphrates, (Tigris) being increased by most violent showers of rain, of long continuance, overflowed a part of the city, and threw down about twenty furlongs of the wall. Then the king thinking that the oracle was accomplished, and that the river was now evidently become an enemy to the city, gave up all hope of saving himself. Lest therefore he should fall into the hands of his enemies, he caused a large funeral pile to be constructed in the midst of his palace. Into this he ordered to be conveyed all his gold, silver, and royal apparel. Then having shut up his concubines and eunuchs with himself, in an apartment prepared in the centre of the pile, he set fire to it, all of which, with the palace, was reduced to ashes. As soon as the revolters heard of the death of Sardanapalus, they entered by a breach made in the wall, and took the city.] Diod. Sic. Lib. 2. p. 80. Edit. Steph. p. 113. Edit. Rhod.

place thereof. Nahum promises the enemy much spoil of gold and silver, (ii. 9.) *Take ye the spoil of silver, take the spoil of gold; for there is no end of the store, and glory out of all the pleasant furniture:* and we read in (2) Diodorus, that Arbaces carried many talents of gold and silver to Ecbatana, the royal city of the Medes. According to Nahum (i. 8. iii. 15.) the city was to be destroyed by fire and water; and we see in Diodorus, that by fire and water it was destroyed.

But Nahum is cited upon this occasion principally to show, that he foretold the total and entire destruction of this city. *The Lord,* saith he in the first chapter, (ver. 8, 9.) *with an overrunning flood will make an utter end of the place thereof; he will make an utter end; affliction shall not rise up the second time.* Again in the second chapter, (ver. 11, 13.) *Where is the dwelling of the lions, and the feeding place of the young lions?* meaning Nineveh, whose princes ravaged like lions: *behold, I am against thee, saith the Lord of hosts, and I will cut off thy prey from the earth, and the voice of thy messengers shall no more be heard.* Again in the third and last chapter, (ver. 17, 18, 19.) *Thy crowned are as the locusts, and thy captains as the great grashoppers, which camp in the hedges in the cold day; but when the sun ariseth, they flee away, and their place is not known where they are,* or have been; *thy shepherds slumber, O king of Assyria; thy nobles shall dwell in the dust; thy people is scattered upon the mountains, and no man gathereth them; there is no healing of thy bruise; thy wound is grievous; all that hear the bruit of thee shall clap the hands over thee; for upon whom hath not thy wickedness passed continually?* The prophet Zephaniah likewise in the days of Josiah king of Judah foretold the same sad event, (ii. 13, 14, 15.) *The Lord will*

(2) επειτα τον τε αργυρον και χρυσον τον εκ της πυρας υπολειφθεντα, πολλων οντα ταλαντων, απεκομισε της Μηδιας εις Εκβατανα. Tum quic quid argenti aurique ex pyra restabat (multa certe talenta erant) in Ecbatana Medorum regiam transtulit. [Then having collected whatever gold and silver the fire of the funeral pile had not consumed, amounting to many talents, he carried them off to Ecbatana of Media.] Diod. Sic. Lib. 2. p. 81. Edit. Steph. p. 115. Edit. Rhod.

stretch out his hand against the north, and destroy Assyria, and will make Nineveh a desolation, and dry like a wilderness: and flocks shall lie down in the midst of her, all the beasts of the nations; both the cormorant and the bittern shall lodge in the upper lintels of it; their voice shall sing in the windows; desolation shall be in the thresholds; for he shall uncover the cedar work; this is the rejoicing city that dwelt carelesly, that said in her heart, I am, and there is none beside me; how is she become a desolation, a place for beasts to lie down in! every one that passeth by her, shall hiss and wag his hand. But what probability was there that the capital city of a great kingdom, a city which was sixty miles in compass, a city which contained so many thousand inhabitants, a city which had walls, according to (3) Diodorus Siculus, a hundred feet high, and so thick that three chariots could go abreast upon them, and fifteen hundred towers at proper distances in the walls of two hundred feet in heighth: what probability was there, I say, that such a city should ever be totally destroyed? and yet so totally was it destroyed, that the place is hardly known where it was situated.

We have seen that it was taken and destroyed by the Medes and Babylonians: and what we may suppose helped to complete its ruin and devastation was Nebuchadnezzar's soon afterwards inlarging and beautifying of Babylon. From that time no mention is made of Nineveh by any of the sacred writers; and the most ancient of the heathen authors, who have occasion to say any thing about it, speak of it as a city that was once great and flourishing, but now destroyed and desolate. Great as it was formerly, so little of it was re-

(3) Το μεν γαρ ὑψος εἰχε το τειχος πoδων ἑκατον, το δε πλατος τριςιν ἁρμασιν ἱππασιμον ἡν. οἱ δε ξυμπαντες πυργοι τον μεν ἀριθμον ησαν χιλιοι πεντακοσιοι. το δ' ὑψος εἰχον πoδων διακοσιων. Nam murus ad C pedum altitudinem exsurgebat, et ad trium latitudinem curruum junctim agitandorum porrectus erat. Turres in eo MD ducentos pedes altæ. [For its wall rose to the heighth of a hundred feet, and its breadth was such as to allow three chariots to drive abreast. The number of its towers amounted to fifteen hundred, and the height of each of them was two hundred feet. Diod. Sic. Lib. 2. p. 65. Edit. Steph. p. 93. Edit. Rhod.

maining, that authors are not agreed even about its situation. I think we may conclude from the general suffrage of ancient historians and geographers, that it was situated upon the river Tigris; but yet no less authors than (4) Ctesias and Diodorus Siculus represent it as situated upon the river Euphrates. Nay authors differ not only from one another, but also from themselves. For the learned (5) Bochart hath shown that Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and Ammianus Marcellinus, all three speak differently of it, sometimes as if it was situated upon the river Tigris, and sometimes as if it was situated upon the river Euphrates. So that to reconcile these authors with themselves and with others, it is supposed by (6) Bochart that there were two Ninevehs, and by (7) Sir John Marsham that there were three; the Syrian upon the river Euphrates, the Assyrian, upon the river Tigris, and a third built afterwards upon the Tigris by the Persians, who succeeded the Parthians in the empire of the east in the third century, and were subdued by the Saracens in the seventh century after Christ: but whether this later Nineveh was built in the same place as old Nineveh is a question that cannot be decided. Lucian, (8) who florished in the second century after Christ, affirms that Nineveh was utterly perished, and there was no footstep of it remaining, nor could you tell where once it was situated: and the greater regard is to be paid to Lucian's testimony, as he was a native of Samosata, a city upon the

(4) Diod. Sic. ibid. et p. 80. Edit. Steph. p. 113. Edit. Rhod.

(5) Bocharti Phaleg. Lib. 4. Cap. 20. Col. 248, 249.

(6) Non video hæc aliter posse consiliari, quam si dicatur duplex fuisse Ninus; una ad Euphratem in Comagenâ; altera in Assyria trans Tigrim, &c. [I cannot see how these things can be otherwise reconciled, than by supposing there were two Ninevehs; one of them situated on the banks of the Euphrates in Comagena, the other beyond the river Tigris in Assyria.] Bochart. ibid.

(7) Est igitur (in veterum scriptis) Ninus triplex, Syriaca, Assyriaca, et Persica, &c. [In the writings of the ancients, mention is made of three Ninevehs; one in Syria, another in Assyria, and a third in Persia.] Marshami Chron. Sæc. xviii. p. 559.

(8) Η Νινος απολωλεν ηδη, και ουδεν ιχνος ετι λοιπον αυτης, ουδ' αν ειπης οπου ποτ' ην. Ninus jam est eversa, ita ut ne reliquum quidem sit ejus vestigium, nec ubi olim sita fuerit, facile dixeris. [Translated in the text.] Luciani Επισκ. vel Contemplantes, prope finem.

river Euphrates, and coming from a neighbouring country he must in all likelihood have known whether there had been any remains of Nineveh or not. There is at this time a city called Mosul, situate upon the western side of the river Tigris, and on the opposite eastern shore are ruins of a great extent, which are said to be the ruins of Nineveh. Benjamin of Tudela, (9) who wrote his Itinerary in the year of Christ 1173, informs us, that there is only a bridge between Mosul and Nineveh; this latter is laid waste, yet hath it many streets and castles. But another, who wrote in 1300, asserts that Nineveh at present is totally laid waste, but by the ruins which are still to be seen there, we may firmly believe that it was one of the greatest cities in the world. The same thing is attested by later travelers, and particularly by (1) Thevenot, upon whose authority Prideaux relates that "Mosul is situated on the west side of the river "Tigris, where was anciently only a suburb of the old "Nineveh, for the city itself stood on the east side of "the river, where are to be seen some of its ruins of "great extent even to this day. Tavernier likewise (2) affirms, that "cross the Tigris, which hath a swift "stream and whitish water, whereas Euphrates runs "slow and is reddish, you come to the ancient city "Nineveh, which is now an heap of rubbish only, for "a league along the river, full of vaults and caverns."

(9) Benjamin Tudelensis (qui scripsit Itinerarium anno Xti 1173) *Inter Almozal*, ait (p. 62.) *et Nineven pons tantum intercedit: Hæc devastata est: attamen multos pagos et arces habet.* At vero Haiton Armenius (De Tartar. C. 11. p. 406.) (anno 1300) *Ista civitas (Ninive) ad præsens est totaliter devastata.* [Benjamin of Tudela, who wrote his Itinerary in the year of our Lord 1173, saith (p. 62.) that *between Almozal and Nineveh there is at present only a bridge. The latter place is in ruins, yet it hath still many small villages and castles.*—But Haiton the Armenian in his book concerning the Tartars, Chap. xi. page 406. (he wrote in the year 1300,) saith *that the city of Nineveh is at present totally in ruins.*] Marshami Chron. Sæc. xviii. p. 558. *Sed per ea, quæ adhuc sunt apparentia in eadem, firmiter credi potest quod fuerit una ex majoribus civitatibus hujus mundi.* [*But by the ruins which are still to be seen, one may be fully satisfied, that it was once one of the greatest cities in the world.*] Idem apud Bochart. Phaleg. Lib. 4. Cap. 20. Col. 225.

(1) Thevenot's Travels, Part 2. Book 1. Chap. 11. p. 50. Prideaux's Connect. Part 1. Book 1. Anno 612. Josiah 29.

(2) Tavernier in Harris. Vol. 2. Book 2. Chap. 4.

Mr. (3) Salmon, who is an industrious collector and compiler from others, saith in his account of Assyria, "In this country the famous city of Nineveh once stood, "on the eastern bank of the river Tigris, opposite to "the place where Mosul now stands——There is "nothing now to be seen but heaps of rubbish, almost "a league along the river Tigris, over against Mosul, "which people imagin to be the remains of this vast "city." But it is more than probable that these ruins are the remains of the Persian Nineveh, and not of the Assyrian. *Ipsæ periere ruinæ:* Even the ruins of old Nineveh have been, as I may say, long ago ruined and destroyed: such *an utter end* hath been made of it, and such is the truth of the divine predictions!

This perhaps may strike us the more strongly by supposing only a parallel instance. Let us then suppose, that a person should come in the name of a prophet, preaching repentance to the people of this kingdom, or otherwise denouncing the destruction of the capital city, within a few years; *with an overrunning flood will God make an utter end of the place thereof, he will make an utter end; its place may be sought, but it shall never be found.* I presume we should look upon such a prophet as a madman, and show no further attention to his message than to deride and despise it: and yet such an event would not be more strange and incredible than the destruction and devastation of Nineveh. For Nineveh was much the larger, and much the stronger, and older city of the two; and the Assyrian empire had subsisted and florished more ages than any form of government in this country: so that you cannot object the instability of the eastern monarchies in this case. Let us then, since this event would not be more improbable and extraordinary than the other, suppose again, that things should succeed according to the prediction, the floods should arise, and the enemy should come, the city should be overflown and broken down, be taken and pillaged,

(3) Salmon's Modern Hist. Vol. I. Chap. 12. Present State of the Turkish empire. Quarto.

and destroyed so totally, that even the learned could not agree about the place where it was situated. What would be said or thought in such a case? Whoever of posterity should read and compare the prophecy and event together, must they not by such an illustrious instance be thoroughly convinced of the providence of God, and of the truth of his prophet, and be ready to acknowledge, *Verily this is the word that the Lord hath spoken, Verily there is a God who judgeth the earth!*

X.

THE PROPHECIES CONCERNING BABYLON.

AFTER Nineveh was destroyed, Babylon became the queen of the east. They were both equally enemies to the people of God; the one subverted the kingdom of Israel, and the other the kingdom of Judah; the one carried away the ten tribes, and the other the two remaining tribes into captivity. No wonder therefore that there are several prophecies relating to each of these cities, and that the fate of Babylon is foretold as well as of Nineveh. As Jeremiah said, (l. 17, 18.) *Israel is a scattered sheep, the lions have driven him away; first the king of Assyria hath devoured him, and last this Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon hath broken his bones: Therefore thus saith the Lord of hosts the God of Israel, Behold, I will punish the king of Babylon and his land, as I have punished the king of Assyria.*

Babylon was a very great and a very ancient city as well as Nineveh. It is indeed generally reckoned less than Nineveh; for according to Strabo (who was cited in the last discourse) it was only 385 furlongs in compass,

or 360 according to (1) Diodorus Siculus, or 368 according to Quintus Curtius: but (2) Herodotus, who was an older author than any of them, represents it of the same dimensions as Nineveh, that is 480 furlongs or above 60 miles in compass; but the difference was, that Nineveh was constructed in the form of a parallelogram, and Babylon was an exact square, each side being 120 furlongs in length. So that according to this account Babylon contained more ground in it than Nineveh did; for by multiplying the sides the one by the other, it will be found, that Nineveh contained within its walls only 13500 furlongs, and that Babylon contained 14400. It was too as ancient, or more ancient than Nineveh; for in the words of Moses, speaking of Nimrod (Gen. x. 10.) it was *the beginning of his kingdom*, that is the first city, or the capital city in his dominions. Several heathen authors say that Semiramis, but most (as (3) Quintus Curtius asserts) that Belus built it: and Belus was very probably the same as Nimrod. But whoever was the first founder of this city, we may reasonably suppose that it received very great improvements afterwards, and Nebuchadnezzar particularly repaired, and inlarged, and beautified it to such a degree, that he may in a manner be said to have built it; as he boasted himself (Dan. iv. 30.) *Is not this great Babylon that I have built for the house of the kingdom, by the might of*

(1) περιβαλετο τειχος τη πολει ςαδιων τριακοσιων ἑξηκοντα. CCCLX stadiorum muro urbem circumdedit. [He surrounded the city with a wall of three hundred and sixty furlongs.] Diod. Sic. Lib. 2. p. 68. Edit. Steph. p. 95. Edit. Rhod. Totius operis ambitus CCCLXVIII stadia complectitur. [The circumference of the whole work measured three hundred and sixty-eight furlongs.] Quint. Curt. Lib. 5. Cap. 1.

(2) κεεται εν πεδιῳ μεγαγῳ, μεγαθος εουσα, μετωπον ἑκαςον, εικοσι και εκατον ςαδιων, εουσην τετραγωνου. ὁτοι ςαδιοι της περιοδου της πολιος γινονται Συναπαντες ογδωκοντα και τετρακοσιοι. oppidum situm est in planitie ingenti, forma quadrata, magnitudine quoquo versus centenûm vicenûm stadiorum, in summa quadringentorum et octoginta, in circuitu quatuor laterum urbis. [The city stood in a plain of great extent. It was in the form of a square. Each of its sides was an hundred and twenty furlongs, so that the circumference of all its sides amounted to four hundred and eighty furlongs.] Herod. Lib. 1. Cap. 178. p. 74. Edit Gale.

(3) Semiramis eam condiderat: vel, ut plerique credidere, Belus. [It had been built by Semiramis, or, in the opinion of most, by Belus.] Quint. Curt. ibid.

†

my power, and for the honor of my majesty? Nor is this asserted only in scripture, but is likewise attested by heathen authors, Megasthenes, Berosus and Abydenus, whose words were quoted by (4) Josephus and Eusebius. By one means or other Babylon became so great and famous a city as to give name to a very large empire; and it is called in scripture (Dan. iv. 30.) *great Babylon;* (Is. xiii. 19.) *the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees excellency;* (Is. xiv. 4.) *the golden city;* (Is. xlvii. 5.) *the lady of kingdoms;* (Jer. li. 13.) *abundant in treasures;* (Jer. li. 41.) *the praise of the whole earth:* and its beauty, strength, and grandeur; its walls, temples, palaces, and hanging gardens; the banks of the river, and the artificial canals and lake made for the draining of that river in the seasons of its overflowings, are described with such pomp and magnificence by heathen authors, that it might deservedly be reputed one of the wonders of the world. The fullest and best account of these things in England is to be found in the second book of that very valuable and very useful work, Dr. Prideaux's Connection. Tho' Babylon was seated in a low watry plain, yet in scripture (Jer. li. 25.) it is called a *mountain* on account of the great highth of its walls and towers, its palaces and temples: and (5) Berosus speaking of some of its buildings, saith that they appeared most like mountains. Its *gates of brass* and its *broad walls* are particularly mentioned in scripture: (Is. xlv 2. Jer. li. 58.) and the city (6) had an hundred gates, 25 on each side, all made of solid brass: and its walls according to (7) Herodotus were 350 feet in highth, and 7 in thickness, and 6 chariots could go abreast upon them, as (8) Diodorus affirms after Ctesias.

(4) Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 10. Cap. 11. Sect. 1. p. 459. Edit. Hudson. Euseb. Præpar. Evang. Lib. 9. Cap. 41. p. 457. Edit Vigeri.

(5) την οψιν απασης ομοιοτατην τοις ορεσι——quibus speciem dedit montibus persimilem. [Presenting appearance, very much resembling that of mountains.] Joseph. Antiq. ibid.

(6) Herod. Lib. 1. Cap. 179. p. 74. Edit. Gale.

(7) Herod. ibid. Cap. 178. Prideaux, ibid.

(8) ὡστε το μεν πλατος ειναι των τειχων εξ ἁρμασιν ἱππασιμον. ut mœnium latitudo sex juxta curribus vehendis sufficeret. [So that the breadth of the wall was sufficient for six chariots to drive abreast.] Diod. Sic. Lib. 2. p. 68. Edit. Steph. p. 96. Edit. Rhod.

Such a city as this, one would imagin, was in no danger of being totally abandoned, and coming to nought. Such a city as this might surely with less vanity than any other boast that she should continue for ever, if any thing human could continue for ever. So she vainly glorified. (Is. xlvii. 7, 8.) *I shall be a lady for ever. I am, and none else beside me; I shall not sit as a widow, neither shall I know the loss of children.* But the prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah, plainly and particularly foretold the destruction of this city. They lived during the declension of the kingdom of Judah; and as they predicted the captivity of the Jews, so they likewise foretold the downfal of their enemies: and they speak with such assurance of the event, that they describe a thing future as if it were already past. (Is. xxi. 9.) *Babylon is fallen, is fallen; and all the graven images of her gods he hath broken unto the ground.* (Jer. li. 8.) *Babylon is suddenly fallen and destroyed; howl for her, take balm for her pain, if so she may be healed.* It is somewhat remarkable, that one of Isaiah's prophecies concerning Babylon is intitled (xxi. 1.) *the burden of the desert of the sea,* or rather *of the plain of the sea,* for Babylon was seated in a plain, and surrounded by water. The propriety of the expression consists in this, not only that any large collection of waters in the oriental stile is called *a sea,* but also that the places about Babylon, as (9) Abydenus informs us of Megasthenes, are said from the beginning to have been overwhelmed with waters, and to have been called *the sea.*

Cyrus, who was the conqueror of Babylon, and transferred the empire from the Babylonians to the Medes and Persians, was particularly foretold by name (Is. xliv. 28. xlv. 1.) above an hundred years before he was born. He is honoured with the appellation of *the Lord's anointed,* and the Lord is said to *have holden his right hand,* and to have *girded him:* (Is. xlv. 1, 5.) and he

(9) λεγεται δε παντα μεν εξ αρχης ὑδωρ ειναι, θαλασσαν καλεομενην. Ferunt, inquit, loca hæc omnia jam inde ab initio aquis obruta fuisse, marisque nomine appellata. [Translated in the text.] Euseb. Præp. Evang. Lib. 9, Cap. 41. p. 457. Edit. Vigeri.

was raised up to be an instrument of providence for great purposes, and was certainly a person of very extraordinary endowments, though we should allow that Xenophon had a little exceeded the truth, and had drawn his portrait beyond the reality. It was promised that he should be a great conqueror, should *subdue nations before him,* (Is. xlv. 1.) *and I will loose the loins of kings to open before him the two-leaved gates, and the gates shall not be shut:* and he subdued several kings, and took several cities, particularly Sardes and Babylon, and extended his (1) conquests over all Asia from the river Indus to the Ægean sea. It was promised that he should find great spoil and treasure among the conquered nations; (Is. xlv. 3.) *I will give thee the treasures of darkness, and hidden riches of secret places:* and the riches which Cyrus found in his conquests amounted to a prodigious value in (2) Pliny's account; nor can we wonder at it, for those parts of Asia at that time abounded in wealth and luxury: Babylon had been heaping up treasures for many years; and the riches of Crœsus king of Lydia, whom Cyrus conquered and took prisoner, are in a manner become proverbial.

The time too of the reduction of Babylon was marked out by the prophet Jeremiah. (xxv. 11, 12.) *These nations* (that is the Jews and the neighbouring nations) *shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years; And it shall come to pass when seventy years are accomplished, that I will punish the king of Babylon, and that nation, saith the Lord.* This prophecy was delivered, as it appears from the first verse of the chapter, *in the fourth year of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah king of Judah, that was the first year of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon:* and from that time there were (3) 70 years to the taking of Babylon and the restoration of the Jews. Nebuchadnezzar had transplanted the Jews to Babylon to people and strengthen the place, and their removal from thence must

(1) —omnem Asiam ab India usque ad Egeum mare. [All Asia from India to the Ægean Sea.] Marshami Chron. Sæc. XVIII. p. 587.

(2) Plin. Lib. 33. Cap. 15. Edit Harduin.

(3) See Prideaux and other chronologers.

have weakened it very much; and after that it was distressed more and more, till at last it was brought to nought.

Several circumstances likewise of the siege and taking of Babylon were presignified by the prophets. It was foretold, that God would stir up the Medes and Persians against it; *Go up O Elam,* that is Persia, (Is. xxi. 2.) *besiege O Media;* and (Jer. li. 11.) *the Lord hath raised up the spirit of the kings of the Medes, for his device is against Babylon to destroy it:* And accordingly it was besieged by the united forces of the Medes and Persians under the command of Cyrus the Persian, the nephew and son-in-law of the king of the Medes. The Medes are chiefly spoken of, as they were at that time the superior people. The *Medes* is too a general name for both nations, and so it is used and applied by several Greek historians as well as by the sacred writers. *Elam* (4) was an old name for *Persia,* for the name of *Persia* doth not appear to have been known in Isaiah's time; Ezekiel is the first who mentions it. And (5) Bochart asserts,

(4) *Elam* est Persis, et cum Media sæpius conjungitur.——*Persarum* nomen, ante captivitatem Babylonicam, obscurum fuit. 'Ezechiel primus inter bellicosas gentes, illos recenset, (27: 10. & 38: 5.) quum nondum innotuerant res Cyri. A Cyro demum natione Persâ, et victoriis inclyto, Persarum gloria increbuit. [*Elam* is Persia, and is frequently mentioned along with Media.——The name of the *Persians,* before the Babylonish captivity, was scarcely known. Ezekiel is the first who mentions them, and ranks them among the warlike nations, Chap. xxvii. 10. and xxxviii. 5. when the deeds of Cyrus were yet unknown. From the time of Cyrus, who was a Persian by birth, and celebrated for his victories, the glory of the Persians was widely spread.] Marshami Chron. Sæc. XVIII. p. 564.

(5) At Persis ipsis nomen fuit ab equitatu, qua maxime valebant equitiare a teneris edocti.——Quâ tamen disciplinâ primus illos imbuit Cyrus.—Itaque ex tam repentina mutatione factum, ut hæc regio פרס *Paras,* et incolæ פרסאי *Persæ* dicerentur, id est, equites. Arabice enim פרס *Pharas* est equus, et פארס *Pharis* eques (ut Hebraice פרש *Paras*) Porro vox eadem *Pharis* etiam Persam significat. Inde est, quod neque Moses, nec libri Regum, nec Esaias aut Jeremias, Persarum meminerunt, neque quisquam eorum, qui vixerunt ante Cyrum. At in Daniele et Ezechiele Cyro coævis, et in libris Paralipomenon, et Esdræ, et Nehemiæ, et Esther, &c. qui post Cyrum scripti sunt, Persarum est frequens mentio. Antea verisimile est Hebræa nomina כוש *Chus* et עילם *Elam* magnam Persidis partem inclusisse. [But the Persians derived their name from their cavalry, in which their chief power consisted; being taught to ride from their earliest years.—Cyrus was the first that introduced this kind of discipline amongst them.—From a change so suddenly brought in amongst them, it came to pass, that their country was called פרס *Paras,* and themselves פרסאי *Persians,* that is horsemen. In the Arabic language פרס *Pharas* signifies a horse, and פארס *Pharis* an horseman, as פרש *Parash* doth

that the *Persians* were first so named from their becoming *horsemen* in the time of Cyrus, the same word signifying both a Persian and a horseman. Or if by *Elam* we understand the province strictly so called, it is no less true that this also, tho' subject to Babylon, rose up against it, and upon the following occasion. Abradates (6) was viceroy or governor of Susa or Shushan, and Shushan was the capital of the province of Elam. (Dan. viii. 2.) His wife Panthea, a lady of exquisite beauty, happened to be taken prisoner by the Persians. Cyrus treated her with such generosity, and preserved her with such strict honour safe and inviolate for her husband, as won the heart of the prince, so that he and his forces revolted to Cyrus, and fought in his army against the Babylonians.

It was foretold, that various nations should unite against Babylon; (Is. xiii. 4.) *The noise of a multitude in the mountains, like as of a great people; a tumultuous noise of the kingdoms of nations gathered together; the Lord of hosts mustereth the host of the battle:* and particularly it was foretold, that *the kingdoms of Ararat, Minni, and Ashchenaz,* that is the (7) Armenians, Phrygians, and other nations should compose a part of his army; (Jer. li. 27.) *Set ye up a standard in the land, blow the trumpet among the nations, prepare the nations against her, call together against her the kingdoms of Ararat, Minni, and Ashchenaz:* And accordingly Cyrus's army consisted of various nations; and among them were (8) these very people, whom he had conquered before, and now obliged to attend him in this expedition.

in Hebrew. The same word *Pharis* signifies also a Persian. This is the reason that neither Moses, nor the book of Kings, nor Isaiah, nor Jeremiah, nor in short any one that lived before the time of Cyrus, make mention of the Persians. But in the books of Daniel and Ezekiel, who were contemporaries with Cyrus, and in the books of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, &c. which were written after the time of Cyrus, the Persians are frequently mentioned. Before his time, it is probable that the Hebrew names כוּת *Chut* and עֵילָם *Elam*, took in a large portion of Persia.] Bocharti Phaleg. Lib. 4. Cap. 10. Col. 224.

(6) Xenoph. Cyropæd. Lib. 4, 5, 6, 7.

(7) Vide Bocharti Phaleg. Lib. 1. Cap. 3. Col. 16. et Col. 20. Lib. 3. C. 9. Col. 174.

(8) Xenoph. Cyropæd. Lib. 6. p. 77. Lib. 7. p. 111. Edit. Henr. Steph. 1581.

It was foretold, that the Babylonians should be terrified, and hide themselves within their walls; (Jer. li. 30.) *The mighty men of Babylon have forborn to fight, they have remained in their holds, their might hath failed, they became as women:* And accordingly the Babylonians, after the loss of a battle or two, never recovered their courage to face the enemy in the field again; they retired within their walls, and the (9) first time that Cyrus came with his army before the place, he could not provoke them to venture forth and try the fortune of arms, even tho' he sent a challenge to the king to fight a duel with him; and the (1) last time that he came, he consulted with his officers about the best method of carrying on the siege, 'since, saith he, they do not come forth 'and fight.'

It was foretold, that the river should be dried up, before the city should be taken; which was very unlikely ever to happen, (2) the river being more than two furlongs broad, and deeper than two men standing one upon another, so that the city was thought to be stronger and better fortified by the river than by the walls; but yet the prophets predicted that the waters should be dried up; (Is. xliv. 27.) *That saith to the deep, Be dry, and I will dry up thy rivers;* (Jer. l. 38.) *A drought is upon her waters, and they shall be dried up;* (Jer. li. 36.) *I will dry up her sea, and make her springs dry:* And accordingly (3) Cyrus turned the course of the river Euphrates which ran thro' the midst of Babylon, and by means of deep trenches and the canals and

(9) Xenoph. Cyropæd. Lib. 5. p. 75. Edit. Henr. Steph. 1581.

(1) Ib. Lib. 7. επειπερ ȣ μαχονται εξιοντες, quia ad pugnandum non exeunt. p. 112. [Translated in the text.]

(2) Xenophon. Cyropæd. Lib. 7.——πλατος εχων πλειον η επι δυο ςαδια· και βαθος γε ὡς ȣδ' αν δυο ανδρες ὁ ἑτερος επι τȣ ἑτερȣ ἑςηκως τȣ̃ ὑδατος ὑπερεχοιεν· ὡςε τῳ ποταμῳ ετι ισχυροτερα εςιν ἡ πολις η τοις τειχεσι. [fluminis] latitudo est plus quam ad duo stadia: et profunditas tanta ut ne duo quidem viri alter super alterum stantes supra aquam emineant. Itaque urbs validior est flumine quam muris. [The width of the river is more than two furlongs, and its depth such, that of two men standing the one upon the other, the uppermost would not appear above the water. So that the river afforded a better defence to the city than its walls.] Ibid.

(3) Herod. Lib. 1. Cap. 191. p. 79. Edit. Gale. Xenophon. Cyropæd. Lib. 7. p. 113. Edit. Steph.

lakes before mentioned, so drained the waters that the river became easily fordable for his soldiers to enter the city, and by these means Babylon was taken, which was otherwise impregnable, and was supplied with provisions for very many years saith (4) Herodotus, for more than twenty years saith Xenophon; or (5) as Herodotus saith, if the Babylonians had but known what the Persians were doing, by shutting the gates which opened to the river, and by standing upon the walls which were built as banks, they might have taken and destroyed the Persians as in a net or cage.

It was foretold, that the city should be taken by surprise during the time of a feast; (Jer. l. 24.) *I have laid a snare for thee, and thou art also taken, O Babylon, and thou wast not aware, thou art found and also caught.* (li. 39.) *In their heat I will make their feasts, and I will make them drunken, that they may rejoice, and sleep a perpetual sleep, and not awake, saith the Lord.* (li. 57.) *And I will make drunk her princes, and her wise men, her captains, and her rulers, and her mighty men, and they shall sleep a perpetual sleep, and not wake, saith the king, whose name is the Lord of hosts:* And accordingly the (6) city was taken in the night of a great annual festival while the inhabitants were dancing, drinking, and

(4) Herod. Lib. 1. Cap. 190. προσαξαντο ζητια ετεων καρτα πολλων, comportaverant per multorum annorum commeatus. [They had laid in provisions for very many years.] P. 79. Edit. Gale. Xenoph. Cyropæd. Lib. 7. εχοντες τα επιτηδεια πλεον η εικοσιν ετων. ut qui res necessarias haberent plus quam viginti annorum. [They had necessaries for more than twenty years.] P. 113. Edit. Steph.

(5) Lib. 1. Cap. 191. ει μεν νυν προεπυθοντο η εμαθον οἱ Βαβυλωνιοι το εκ του Κυρου ποιευμενον, ουδ' αν περιιδοντες τους Περσας εσελθειν εις την πολιν, διεφθειραν κακιστα. κατακλησαντες γαρ αν πασας τας ες τον ποταμον πυλιδας εχουσας, και αυτοι επι τας αιμασιας αναβαντες τας παρα τα χειλεα του ποταμου ελημενας, ελαβον αν ζφεας ὡς εν κυρτη. Quos Babylonii, si factum Cyri prius aut audissent, aut sensissent, ingredi non permisissent, sed pessimo exitio affecissent. Nam obseratis omnibus quæ ad flumen ferunt portulis, conscensisque septis, ipsi, pro ripis stantes illos progressos veluti in cavea excepissent. [If the Babylonians had heard or perceived before hand what had been done by Cyrus, they would not have suffered the Persians to enter (the city,) but would have miserably destroyed them. For by shutting all the sally ports that led to the river, and by mounting the ramparts which were raised on the brink of the river, they might have taken them as in a trap.] Ibid.

(6) Herod. Lib. 1. Cap. 191. p. 79. Edit. Gale. Xenoph. Cyropæd. Lib. 7. p. 113. Edit. Steph.

reveling; and as (7) Aristotle reports, it had been taken three days, before some part of the city perceived it; but (8) Herodotus's account is more modest and probable, that the extreme parts of the city were in the hands of the enemy before they who dwelt in the middle of it knew any thing of their danger. These were extraordinary occurrences in the taking of this city: and how could any man foresee and foretel such singular events, such remarkable circumstances, without revelation and inspiration of God?

But these events you may possibly think too remote in time to be urged in the present argument: and yet the prophecies were delivered by Isaiah and Jeremiah, and the facts are related by no less historians than Herodotus and Xenophon; and Isaiah lived about 250 years before Herodotus, and near 350 before Xenophon, and Jeremiah lived above 150 years before the one and near 250 before the other. Cyrus took Babylon according to Prideaux in the year 539 before Christ. Isaiah prophesied *in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah,* (Is. i. 1.) which was at least 160 years before the taking of Babylon, for Hezekiah died in the year 699 before Christ. Jeremiah sent his prophecies concerning Babylon to Babylon by the hands of Seraiah *in the fourth year of the reign of Zedekiah,* (Jer. li. 59.) which was 56 years before the taking of Babylon, for the fourth year of Zedekiah coincides with the year 595 before Christ. There is therefore no room for scepticism: but if you are still disposed to doubt and hesitate, what then think you of the present condition of the

(7) Arist. Pol. Lib. 3. Cap. 3. ὡς γε φασιν ἑαλωκυίας τριτην ἡμεραν ἐκ πισθεσθαι τι μερος της πολεως. qua tertium jam diem capta, partem quandam urbis non sensisse dicunt. [Which having been taken three days, they tell us, that this was not known by a certain portion of the city.] P. 341. Vol. 2. Edit. Du Val.

(8) Herod. Ibid. ὑπο δε μεγαθεος της πολιος, ὡς λεγεται ὑπο των ταυτη οἰκημενων, των περι τα ἐσχατα της πολιος ἑαλωκοτων, τους τε μεσον οἰκεοντας των Βαβυλωνιων, ε μαθανειν ἑαλωκοτας. Tantaque urbis erat magnitudo, ut (quemadmodum narrant accolæ) quum capti essent qui extremas urbis partes incolebant, ii qui mediam urbem incolerent id nescirent. [And by reason of the greatness of the city, as is related by some of its inhabitants, when the extremities of the city were in the possession of the enemy, those of the Babylonians who lived in the middle of it did not know that they were taken.]

place? Could the prophets, unless they were prophets indeed, have foreseen and foretold what that would be so many ages afterwards? And yet they have expresly foretold that it should be reduced to desolation. Isaiah is very strong and poetical: (xiii. 19, &c) *Babylon the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees excellency, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah: It shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation; neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there, neither shall the shepherds make their fold there: But wild beasts of the desert shall lie there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures, and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there: And the wild beasts of the iland shall cry in their desolate houses, and dragons in their pleasant palaces; and her time is near to come, and her days shall not be prolonged.* Again (xiv. 22, 23.) *I will rise up against them saith the Lord of hosts, and cut off from Babylon the name and remnant, and son and nephew* (or rather son and grandson) *saith the Lord: I will also make it a possession for the bittern, and pools of water: and I will sweep it with the besom of destruction, saith the Lord of hosts.* Jeremiah speaketh much in the same strain: (l. 13, 23, 39, 40.) *Because of the wrath of the Lord, it shall not be inhabited, but it shall be wholly desolate; every one that goeth by Babylon shall be astonished, and hiss at all her plagues: How is the hammer of the whole earth cut asunder and broken? How is Babylon become a desolation among the nations? Therefore the wild beasts of the desert, with the wild beasts of the ilands shall dwell there, and the owls shall dwell therein; and it shall be no more inhabited for ever; neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation: As God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah, and the neighbour cities thereof, saith the Lord; so no man shall abide there, neither shall any son of man dwell therein.* Again (li. 13, 26, 29, 37, 42, 43.) *O thou that dwellest upon many waters, abundant in treasures; thine end is come, and the measure of thy covetousness: And they shall not take of thee a stone for a corner, nor a stone for foundations: but thou shalt be desolate for ever, saith the Lord: And*

the land shall tremble and sorrow, for every purpose of the Lord shall be performed against Babylon, to make the land of Babylon a desolation without an inhabitant: And Babylon shall become heaps, a dwelling place for dragons, an astonishment and an hissing without an inhabitant: The sea is come up upon Babylon; she is covered with the multitude of the waves thereof: Her cities are a desolation, a dry land and a wilderness, wherein no man dwelleth, neither doth any son of man pass thereby. We shall see how these and other prophecies have by degrees been accomplished, for in the nature of the things they could not be fulfilled all at once. But as the prophets often speak of things future, as if they were already effected; so they speak often of things to be brought about in process of time, as if they were to succeed immediately; past, present, and to come, being all alike known to an infinite mind, and the intermediate time not revealed perhaps to the minds of the prophets.

Isaiah addressetli Babylon by the name of a *virgin*, as having never before been taken by any enemy: (Is. xlvii. 1.) *Come down and sit in the dust, O virgin daughter of Babylon sit on the ground:* and (9) Herodotus saith expresly, that this was the first time that Babylon was taken. After this it never more recovered its ancient splendor: from an imperial, it became a tributary city; from being governed by its own kings, and governing strangers, it came itself to be governed by strangers; and the seat of empire being transferred to Shushan, it decayed by degrees, till it was reduced at last to utter desolation. Berosus in Josephus (1) saith, that when Cyrus had taken Babylon, he ordered the outer walls to be pulled down, because the city appeared

(9) Και Βαβυλων μεν δτω πρωτον αναιρητο. Atque ita primo capta est Babylon. [Translated in the text.] Herod. Lib. 1. Cap. 191. p. 79. Edit. Gale.

(1) Κυρω δε Βαβυλωνα καταλαβομενος, και ζυνταξας τα εξω της πολιως τειχη κατασκαψαι, δια το λιαν αυτω πραγματικην και δυσαλωτον φαινηαι την πολιν.——Cyrus autem Babylone capta, constitutoque exteriora ejus munimenta diruere, quod civitatem videret ad res novas mobilem, urbem vero expugnatu difficilem. [Translated in the text.]——Contra Apion. Lib. 1. Sect. 22. p. 1344. Edit. Hudson.

to him very factious and difficult to be taken. And (2) Xenophon informs us, that Cyrus obliged the Babylonians to deliver up all their arms upon pain of death, distributed their best houses among his officers, imposed a tribute upon them, appointed a strong garrison, and compelled the Babylonians to defray the charge, being desirous to keep them poor as the best means of keeping them obedient.

But notwithstanding these precautions, (3) they rebelled against Darius, and in order to hold out to the last extremity, they took all their women, and each man choosing one of them, out of those of his own family, whom he liked best, they strangled the rest, that unnecessary mouths might not consume their provisions. "And "hereby," saith (4) Dr. Prideaux, "was very signally "fulfilled the prophecy of Isaiah against them, in which "he foretold (chap. xlvii. 9.) *That two things should "come to them in a moment, in one day, the loss of "children and widowhood, and that these should come "upon them in their perfection, for the multitude of "their sorceries, and the great abundance of their in-"chantments.* And in what greater perfection could "these calamities come upon them, than when they themselves thus upon themselves became the executioners "of them?" Or rather this prophecy was then fulfilled a second time, having been fulfilled before, the very night that Babylon was taken, when the Persians slew the king himself, and a great number of the Babylonians. They sustained the siege and all the efforts of Darius for twenty months, and at length the city was taken by stratagem. As soon as Darius had made himself master of the place, he ordered three thousand of the principal men to be crucified, and thereby fulfilled the prophecies of the cruelty, which the Medes and Persians should use towards the Babylonians; (Is. xiii. 17, 18: Jer. l. 42.) and he likewise demolished the wall, and took away the gates,

(2) Xenophon. Cyropæd. Lib. 7. p. 114. et 117. Edit. Steph.
(3) Herod. Lib. 3. Cap. 150, &c. p. 220. Edit. Gale.
(4) Prid. Connect. Part. 1. Book 3. Anno 517. Darius 5.

neither of which, saith (5) Herodotus, had Cyrus done before. But either Herodotus, or Berosus must have been mistaken; or we must suppose that Cyrus's orders were never carried into execution; or we must understand Herodotus to speak of the inner wall, as Berosus spoke of the outer: and yet it doth not seem very credible, when the walls were of that prodigious highth and thickness, that there should be an inner and an outer wall too; and much less that there should be three inner and three outer walls, as (6) Berosus affirms. Herodotus (7) computes the highth of the wall to be 200 cubits; but later authors reckon it much lower, (8) Quintus Curtius at 100, (9) Strabo who is a more exact writer at 50 cubits. Herodotus describes it as it was originally; and we may conclude therefore that Darius reduced it from 200 to 50 cubits; and by thus taking down the wall and destroying the gates, he remarkably fulfilled the prophecy of Jeremiah, (li. 58.) *Thus saith the Lord of hosts, The broad walls of Babylon shall be utterly broken, and her high gates shall be burnt with fire.*

Xerxes (1) after his return from his unfortunate expedition into Greece, partly out of religious zeal, being a professed enemy to image worship, and partly to reimburse himself after his immense expenses, seised the

(5) ——— το τειχος περιειλε, και τας πυλας πασας απεσπασε· (το γαρ προτερον ἑλων Κυρος την Βαβυλωνα, εποιησε ταυτεων ουδετερον) muros circumcidit, et portas omnes amolitus est: quorum neutrum Cyrus fecerat prius eidem a se captæ. ['He took away the wall, and removed all the gates, neither of which had been done when first it was taken by Cyrus.'] Herod. Lib. 3. Cap. 159. p. 223. Edit. Gale.

(6) ——— υπεριβαλετο τρεις μεν της εσδον πολεως περιβολες, τρεις δε της εξω ταυτων. ternos quidem interiori urbi, ternosque pariter exteriori murorum ambitus circumdedit. ['He surrounded the city by three walls within, and with three walls without.'] Apud Joseph. contra Apion. Lib. 1. Sect. 19. p. 1348. Edit. Hudson.

(7) ὑψος διηκοσιων πηχεων. cubitorum ducentorum celsitudine. [Translated in the text.] Herod. Lib. 1. Cap. 178. p. 74. Edit. Gale.

(8) Altitudo muri C cubitorum eminet spatio. ['The height of the wall was more than a hundred cubits.'] Quint. Curt. Lib. 5. Cap. 1.

(9) ὑψος δε των μεσοπυργιων, πηχεις πεντηκοντα. Altitudine inter turres cubitorum L. ['The height of the wall between the towers was fifty cubits.'] Strabo. Lib. 16. p. 738. Edit. Paris. p. 1072. Edit. Amstel. 1707.

(1) Herod. Lib. 1. Cap. 183. p. 76. Edit. Gale. Arrian. de Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. Cap. 17. p. 296. Edit. Gronov. Usher's Annals. A. M. 3526. p. 129. Prideaux Connect. Part. 1. B. 4. Anno 479. Xerxes 7.

sacred treasures, and plundered or destroyed the temples and idols of Babylon, thereby accomplishing the prophecies of Isaiah and Jeremiah; (Is. xxi. 9.) *Babylon is fallen, is fallen; and all the graven images of her gods he hath broken unto the ground;* (Is. xlvi. 1.) *Bel boweth down, Nebo stoopeth, their idols were upon the beasts, and upon the cattle, &c.:* (Jer. l. 2.) *Babylon is taken, Bel is confounded, Merodach is broken in pieces, her idols are confounded, her images are broken in pieces:* (Jer. li. 44, 47, 52.) *And I will punish Bel in Babylon, and I will bring forth out of his mouth that which he hath swallowed up; Therefore behold the days come, that I will do judgment upon the graven images of Babylon;* and again, *Wherefore behold the days come, saith the Lord, that I will do judgment upon her graven images.* What God declares, *I will punish Bel in Babylon, and I will bring forth that which he hath swallowed,* was also litterally fulfilled, when the vessels of the house of God, which Nebuchadnezzar had brought from Jerusalem, and placed in the temple of Bel, (Dan. i. 2.) were restored by order of Cyrus (Ezra i. 7.) and carried to Jerusalem again.

Such was the state of Babylon under the Persians. When Alexander came thither, tho' (2) Quintus Curtius says that the whole circuit of the city was 368 furlongs, yet he affirms that only for the space of 90 furlongs it was inhabited. The river Euphrates having been turned out of its course by Cyrus, and never afterwards restored to its former channel, all that side of the country was flooded by it. Alexander indeed (3) purposed to have made Babylon the seat of his empire, and actually set men at work to rebuild the temple of Belus, and to repair the banks of the river, and to bring back the waters again into their own channel: and if his de-

(2) Quintus Curtius, Lib. 5. Cap. 1. Ac ne totam quidem urbem tectis occupaverunt; per XC stadia habitatur; nec omnia continua sunt. ['The whole of the city was not occupied by buildings. Only the space of ninety furlongs was inhabited, neither were the houses close to one another.']

(3) Arrian de Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. Cap. 17. p. 296. et Cap. 21. p. 303. Edit. Gronov. Hecalæus apud Joseph. contra Apion. Lib. 1. Sect. 22. p. 1348. Edit. Hudson. Strabo. Lib. 16. p. 738. Edit. Paris, p. 1073. Edit. Amstel. 1707.

signs had taken effect, how could the prophecies have been fulfilled? and what providence therefore was it, that his designs did not take effect, and that the breaches were never repaired? He met with some difficulties in the work, and death soon after put an end to this and all his other projects; and none of his successors ever attempted it: and (4) Seleucia being built a few years afterwards in the neighbourhood, Babylon in a little time became *wholly desolate*. Seleucia not only robbed it of its inhabitants, but even of its name, being called also (5) Babylon by several others. We learn farther from a fragment of Diodorus Siculus, which is produced by Valesius, and quoted from him by (6) Vitringa, that a king of Parthia, or one of his peers, surpassing all the famous tyrants in cruelty, omitted no sort of punishment, but sent many of the Babylonians, and for trifling causes, into slavery, and burnt the forum and some of the temples of Babylon, and demolished the best parts of the city. This happened about 130 years before Christ: and now let us see what account is given of Babylon by authors after that time.

Diodorus Siculus (7) describes the buildings as ruined

(4) Strabo ibid. Plinii Nat. Hist. Lib. 6. Cap. 30. Edit Harduin.

(5) Plin. ibid. quæ tamen Babylonia cognominatur. ['Which nevertheless is called Babylon.']. See Prideaux Connect. Part 1. B. 8. Anno 293. Ptolemy Soter 12.

(6) Vitring. Com. in Iesaiam. Cap. 13. p. 421, Vol. 1. Ευτμερος ὁ των Παρθων βασιλευς κ. τ. λ. *Evemerus, Parthorum rex* (docuit Valesius clarissime quod eruditi viri lubenter admiserunt, legendum esse *Himerum*, Parthorum regis satrapam, ex circumstantiis temporis historiæ, et collatis locis Justini ac Athenæi) *patria Hyrcanus, cunctos tyrannos acerbitate vincens, nullum sævitiæ genus prætermisit. Plurimos enim Babylonios levibus de causis servituti addictos, cum omni familia in Mediam distrahendos misit. Forum quoque et nonnulla delubra Babylonis igni tradidit, pulcherrima quæque urbis loca evertit.* Accidit casus stante regno Seleucidarum, annis admodum CXXX ante Æ. V. nati domini. ['*Evemerus the king of the Parthians*, (Valesius, as is readily acknowledged by the learned, from comparing some passages in Justin and Athenæus, and from the circumstances of time in the history, hath clearly shewn, that we should read *Himerus*, who was a Satrap of the Parthian king) *a native of Hyrcania, going beyond every tyrant in rigour, omitted no sort of cruelty. For he sent into Media, vast multitudes of Babylonians, together with their whole family, who, for very trifling causes had been doomed to slavery. He also set on fire the forum, and some of the temples at Babylon, and destroyed all the finest places of the city.* This calamity happened during the reign of the descendents of Seleucus, about 130 years before the vulgar era of the birth of our Lord.']

(7) των δι βασιλειων και των αλλων κατασκευασματων ὁ χρονος τα μεν ολοσχε-

or decayed in his time, and asserts that now only a small part of the city is inhabited, the greatest part within the walls is tilled Strabo (8) who wrote not long after Diodorus, saith that part of the city the Persians demolished, and part time and the neglect of the Macedonians, and and especially after Seleucus Nicator had built Seleucia on the Tigris in the neighbourhood of Babylon, and he and his successors removed their court thither: and now (saith he) Seleucia is greater than Babylon, and Babylon is much deserted, so that one may apply to this what the comic poet said of Megalopolis in Arcadia, *The great city is now become a great desert.* Pliny in like manner (9) affirms, that it was reduced to solitude, being

ρως εφανισε, τα δ' ελημηνατο. και γαρ αυτης της Βαβυλωνος νυν βραχυ τι μερος οικειται, το δε πλειστον εντος τειχος γεωργειται. Regiasque et alias structuras partim tempus omnino abolevit, partim corrupit. Nam et ipsius Babylonis exigua quædam portio nunc habitatur, maximaque intra muros pars agrorum cultui est exposita.' ['Time, in some cases, hath altogether destroyed, and in others defaced the royal palaces and other edifices. For at present, only a certain small portion of Babylon is inhabited, the far greater part within the walls is under tillage.'] Diod. Sic. Lib. 2. p. 70. Edit. Steph. p. 98. Edit. Rhod.

(8) —— και λαληριψαν της πολεως, τα μεν οι Περσαι, τα δ' ὁ χρονος και ἡ των Μακεδονων ολιγωρια περι τα τοιαυτα. και μαλιστα επειδη την Σηλευκειαν επι τω Τιγρητι πλησιον της Βαβυλωνος εν τριακοσιοις πυ σταδιοις ετειχισε Σελευκος ὁ Νικατωρ. Και γαρ εκεινος και οἱ μετ' αυτον ἁπαντες περι ταυτην εσπυδασαν την πολιν και το βασιλειον ενταυθα μετηνεγκαν. και δη και νυν ἡ μενγεγονε Βαβυλωνος μειζων· ἡ δ' ερημος ἡ πολλη· ωστ' επ' αυτης μη αν οκνησαι τινα ειπειν ὁπερ εφη τις των κωμικων επι των Μεγαλοπολιτων εν Αρκαδιᾳ.

Ερημια μεγαλη εστιν ἡ Μεγαλοπολις.

—— et urbis partem Persæ diruerunt, partem tempus consumpsit et Macedonum negligentia: præsertim postquam Seleucus Nicator Seleuciam ad Tigrim condidit stadiis tantum CCC a Babylone dissitam. Nam et ille posteri omnes huic urbi maximoperè studuerunt, et regiam eo transtulerunt, et nunc Babylone hæc major est, illa magna ex parte deserta, ut intrepide de ea usurpari possit, quod de Megalopoli Arcadiæ magna urbe quidam dixit Comicus:

Est magna solitudo nunc Megalopolis.

['The Persians destroyed a part of the city. A part has been consumed by time, and the neglect of the Macedonians, concerning such matters. But especially after Seleucus Nicator built Seleucia on the banks of the Tigris, in the neighbourhood of Babylon, at the distance only of three hundred furlongs. For both he and all his successors were very much interested in this city, and removed the court thither. At present, it is greater than Babylon, the latter being in great measure deserted, so that one may boldly say concerning it, that which was said by a certain comic writer concerning Megalopolis, a large city of Arcadia, *Megalopolis is now a vast desert.*'] Strabo. Lib. 16. p. 738. Edit Paris. p. 1075. Edit. Amstel. 1707.

(9) Cetero ad solitudinem rediit exhausta vicinitate Seleuciæ, ob id conditæ a Nicatore. [Translated in the text.] Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. 6. Cap. 30. Edit. Harduin.

exhausted by the neighbourhood of Seleucia, built for that purpose by Seleucus Nicator. As Strabo compared Babylon to Megalopolis, so (1) Pausanias (who florished about the Middle of the second century after Christ) compares Megalopolis to Babylon, and says in his Arcadics, that of Babylon, the greatest city that the sun ever saw, there is nothing now remaining but the walls. Maximus Tyrius (2) mentions it as lying neglected and forsaken: and (3) Lucian intimates, that in a little time it would be sought for and not be found, like Nineveh. Constantine the Great, in an oration preserved by Eusebius, saith that he himself was upon the spot, and an eye-witness of the desolate and miserable condition of the city. In Jerome's time (who lived in the fourth century after Christ) it was converted into a chase to keep wild beasts within the compass of its walls for the hunting of the later kings of Persia. We have learned, (4) saith he, from a certain Elamite brother, who coming out of those parts, now liveth as a monk at Jerusalem, that the royal huntings are in Babylon, and wild beasts of every kind are confined within the circuit of its walls. And a little afterwards he saith, (5) that excepting the brick walls, which after many years are repaired for the inclosing of wild beasts, all the space within is desolation. These walls might probably be demolished by the Saracens who subverted this empire of the Persians, or they might be

(1) Βαβυλωνος δε ταυτης ηντινα ειδες πολεων των τοτε μεγιστην ηλιος, ουδεν ετι ην ει μη τειχος. Babylon omnium, quas unquam sol aspexit, urbium maxima, jam nihil præter muros reliqui habet. [And of this Babylon, at that time the greatest of all the cities, which the sun shone upon, nothing is now remaining besides its walls.] Pausan. L. 3. C. 33.

(2) Βαβυλωνος κειμενης. [Babylon lying forsaken.] Max. Tyr. Dissert. 6. prope finem.

(3) Ου μετα πολυ και αυτη ζητηθησομενη, ωσπερ η Νινος· haud ita multo post desideranda et ipsa, quemadmodum nunc Ninus. [Translated in the text.] Lucian. Επισκ. sive Contemplantes prope finem.

(4) Didicimus a quodam fratre Elamita, qui de illis finibus egredions, nunc Hierosolymis vitam exigit monachorum, venationes regias esse in Babylone; et omnis generis bestias murorum ejus tamen ambitu coerceri. [Translated in the text.] Hieron. Comment. in Isai. Cap. 13. p. 111. Vol. 8. Edit. Benedict.

(5) ——exceptis enim muris coctilibus qui propter bestias concludendas post annos plurimos instaurantur omne in medio spatium solitudo est. Translated in the text.] Id. in Cap. 14. p. 115.

ruined or destroyed by time: but of this we read nothing; neither have we any account of Babylon for several hundred years afterwards, there having been such a dearth of authors during those times of ignorance.

Of later authors the first who mentions any thing concerning Babylon, is Benjamin of Tudela, a Jew who lived in the twelfth century. In this Itinerary, which was written almost 700 years ago, he asserts, (6) that ancient Babylon is now laid waste, but some ruins are still to be seen of Nebuchadnezzar's palace, and men fear to enter there on account of the serpents and scorpions which are in the midst of it. Texeira, a Portuguese, in the description of his travels from India to Italy, affirms (7) that of this great and famous city there is nothing but only a few vestiges remaining, nor in the whole region is any place less frequented.

A German traveler whose name was Rauwolf, passed that way in the year of our Lord 1574, and (8) his account of the ruins of this famous city is as follows. "The village of Elugo now lieth on the place where "formerly old Babylon, the metropolis of Chaldæa, was "situated. The harbour is a quarter of a league's dis- "tance from it, where people go ashore in order to pro- "ceed by land to the celebrated city of Bagdat, which is "a day and a half's journey from thence eastward on the "Tigris. This country is so dry and barren, that it "cannot be tilled, and so bare that I could never have "believed that this powerful city, once the most stately "and renowned in all the world, and situated in the "pleasant and fruitful country of Shinar, could have "ever stood there, if I had not known it by its situation

(6) Benjamin. Itin. p. 76.——eoque homines ingredi verentur, propter serpentes et scorpiones, quisunt in in medio ejus. ['Men fear to enter there by reason of the serpents and scorpions, which are in the midst of it.'] Bochart. Lib. 4. Cap. 15. Col. 234. Vitringa in Iesaiam, Cap. 13. p. 421. Vol. I. Prideaux Connect. Part 1. Book 8. Anno 293. Ptolemy Soter 12. Calmet's Dict. in Babylon.

(7) Cap 5. Hujus nihil nisi pauca supersunt vestigia; nec in toto regione locus ullus est minus frequens. [Translated in the text.] Bochart. ibid. et Prideaux.

(8) Calmet's Dict. in Babylon, and Prideaux as before, and Ray's edition of these travels in English. Part. 2. Chap 7.

" and many antiquities of great beauty, which are still " standing hereabout in great desolation. First by the " old bridge which was laid over the Euphrates, where- " of their are some pieces and arches still remaining built " of burnt brick, and so strong that it is admirable.—Just " before the village of Elugo is the hill whereon the castle " stood, and the ruins of its fortifications are still visible, " though demolished and uninhabited. Behind it, and " pretty near to it, did stand the tower of Babylon.—— " It is still to be seen, and half a league in diameter; " but so ruinous, so low, and so full of venomous crea- " tures, which lodge in holes made by them in the " rubbish, that no one durst approach nearer to it than " within half a league, except during two months in the " winter, when these animals never stir out of their holes. " There is one sort particularly, which the inhabitants " in the language of the country, which is Persian, call " *Eglo*, the poison whereof is very searching: they are " larger than our lizards."

A noble Roman, Petrus Valensis, (Della Valle) was at Bagdat in the year 1616 and went to see the ruins as they are thought of ancient Babylon: and he informs us (9) that in the middle of a vast and level plain, about " a quarter of a league from Euphrates, which in that " place runs westward, appears a heap of ruined build- " ings, like a huge mountain, the materials of which " are so confounded together, that one knows not what " to make of it.——Its situation and form correspond " with that pyramid which Strabo calls the tower of " Belus; and is in all likelihood the tower of Nimrod " in Babylon, or Babel, as that place is still called.—— " There appear no marks of ruins, without the compass " of that huge mass, to convince one so great a city as " Babylon had ever stood there: all one discovers with- " in fifty or sixty paces of it, being only the remains here " and there of some foundations of buildings; and the " country round about it so flat and level, that one can

(9) Vid. Viaggi di Pietro della Valle. Part 2. Epist 17. Clerici Comment. in Esaiam. Cap. 13. ver. 20. Vitring. Comment. ibid. p. 421. Vol. I. Universal History. Book. 1. Chap. 2. Sect. 4. Note. N.

" hardly believe it should be chosen for the situation of " so great and noble a city as Babylon, or that there " were ever any remarkable buildings on it; but for my " part I am astonished there appears so much as there " does, considering it is at least four thousand years " since that city was built, and that Diodorus Siculus " tells us, it was reduced almost to nothing in his " time."

Tavernier, who is a very celebrated traveler, relates, (1) that "at the parting of the Tigris, which is but a " little way from Bagdat, there is the foundation of a " city, which may seem to have been a large league in " compass. There are some of the walls yet standing, " upon which six coaches may go abreast: They are " made of burnt brick, ten foot square, and three thick. " The chronicles of the country say here stood the an- " cient Babylon." Tavernier, no doubt, saw the same ruins, as Benjamin the Jew, and Rauwolf, and Peter della Valle did; but he thought them not to be the ruins of Nebuchadnezzar's palace or of the tower of Babel. He adopts the opinion of the Arabs, and conceives them to be rather the remains of some tower built by one of their princes for a beacon to assemble his subjects in time of war: and this in all probability was the truth of the matter.

Mr. (2) Salmon's observation is just and pertinent: " What is as strange as any thing that is related of Ba- " bylon is, that we cannot learn either by ancient writers " or modern travelers, where this famous city stood, " only in general, that it was situated in the province of " Chaldæa, upon the river Euphrates considerably above " the place where it is united with the Tigris. Travelers " have guessed from the great ruins they have discovered " in several parts of this country, that in this or that place " Babylon once stood: but when we come to examin " nicely the places they mention, we only learn that they " are certainly in the wrong, and have mistaken the ruins " of Seleucia, or some other great town."

(1) Tavernier in Harris, Vol. 2. Book 2. Chap. 5.

(2) Salmon's Modern Hist. Vol. 1. Present State of the Turkish Empire. Chap. 11.

Mr. (3) Hanway going to give an account of the siege of Bagdat by Nadir Shah, prefaceth it in this manner. "Before we enter upon any circumstance relating to the "siege of Bagdat, it may afford some light to the sub-"ject, to give a short account of this famous city, in "the neighbourhood of which formerly stood the me-"tropolis of one of the most ancient and most potent "monarchies in the world. The place is generally "called Bagdat or Bagdad, though some writers pre-"serve the ancient name of Babylon. The reason of "thus confounding these two cities is, that the Tigris "and Euphrates, forming one common stream before "they disembogue into the Persian gulph, are not unfre-"quently mentioned as one and the same river. It is "certain that the present Bagdat is situated on the Ti-"gris, but the ancient Babylon, according to all his-"torians sacred and prophane, was on the Euphrates. "The ruins of the latter, which geographical writers "place about fifteen leagues to the south of Bagdat, "are now so much effaced, that there are hardly any "vestiges of them to point out the situation. In the "time of the emperor Theodosius, there was only a "great park remaining, in which the kings of Persia "bred wild beasts for the amusement of hunting."

By these accounts we see, how punctually time hath fulfilled the predictions of the prophets concerning Babylon. When it was converted into a chase for wild beasts to feed and breed there, then were exactly accomplished the words of the prophets, that *the wild beasts of the desert with the wild beasts of the ilands should dwell there, and cry in their desolate houses.* One part of the country was overflowed by the river's having been turned out of its course and never restored again to its former channel, and thence became boggy and marshy, so that it might litterally be said to be *a possession for the bittern and pools of water.* Another part is described as dry and naked, and barren of every thing, so that thereby was also fulfilled another prophecy, which seemed in some

(3) Hanway's Travels. Vol. 4. Part. 3. Chap. 10. p. 78.

measure to contradict the former. *Her cities are a desolation, a dry land and a wilderness, a land wherein no man dwelleth, neither doth any son of man pass thereby.* The place thereabout is represented as overrun with serpents, scorpions, and all sorts of venomous and unclean creatures, so that *their houses are full of doleful creatures, and dragons cry in their present palaces; and Babylon is become heaps, a dwelling place for dragons, an astonishment and an hissing without an inhabitant.* For all these reasons *neither can the Arabian pitch his tent there, neither can the shepherds make their folds there.* And when we find that modern travelers cannot now certainly discover the spot of ground, whereon this renowned city was once situated, we may very properly say, *How is Babylon become a desolation among the nations? Every purpose of the Lord hath he performed against. Babylon, to make the land of Babylon a desolation without an inhabitant;* and the expression is no less true than sublime, that *the Lord of hosts hath swept it with the besom of destruction.*

How wonderful are such predictions compared with the event, and what a convincing argument of the truth and divinity of the holy scriptures! Well might God allege this as a memorable instance of his prescience, and challenge all the false gods, and their votaries, to produce the like. (Is. xlv. 21. xlvi. 10.) *Who hath declared this from ancient time? who hath told it from that time? have not I the Lord? and there is no God else beside me, a just God and a Saviour, there is none beside me; Declaring the end from the beginning, and from ancient times the things that are not yet done, saying, My counsel shall stand, and I will do all my pleasure.* And indeed where can you find a similar instance but in scripture, from the beginning of the world to this day.

At the same time, it must afford all readers of an exalted taste and generous sentiments, all the friends and lovers of liberty, a very sensible pleasure to hear the prophets exulting over such tyrants and oppressors as the kings of Assyria. In the 14th chapter of Isaiah there is an Epinikion, or a triumphant ode upon the fall of Baby-

lon. It represents the infernal mansions as moved, and the ghosts of deceased tyrants as rising to meet the king of Babylon, and congratulate his coming among them. It is really admirable for the severest strokes of irony, as well as for the sublimest strains of poetry. The Greek poet (4) Alcæus, who is celebrated for his hatred to tyrants, and whose odes were animated with the spirit of liberty no less than with the spirit of poetry, we may presume to say, never wrote any thing comparable to it. The late worthy professor of poetry at Oxford hath eminently distinguished it in his (5) lectures upon the sacred poesy of the Hebrews, and hath given it the character that it justly deserves, of one of the most spirited, most sublime, and most perfect compositions of the lyric kind, superior to any of the productions of Greece, or Rome: and he hath not only illustrated it with an useful commentary, but hath also copied the beauties of the great original in an excellent Latin Alcaic ode, which if the learned reader hath not yet seen, he will be not a little pleased with the perusal of it. Another excellent hand, Mr. Mason, hath likewise imitated it in an English ode, with which I hope he will (6) one time or other oblige the public.

But not only in this particular, but in the general the scriptures, though often perverted to the purposes of tyranny, are yet in their own nature calculated to promote the civil as well as the religious liberties of mankind.

(4) Hor, Od. II. XIII. 26.

Et te sonantem plenius aureo.
Alcæe, plectro, &c.

[And thee Alcæus,—sounding thy notes more fully with a golden bow, &c.] Quintil. Instit. Orat Lib. 1 Cap. 1. Alcæus in parte operis aureo plectro merito donatur, qua tyrannos infectatur &c. [Alcæus in a part of the work is justly presented with a golden bow where he inveighs against tyrants, &c.]

(5) Lowth Prælec. XIII. p. 120, &c.—viget per totum spiritus liber, excelsus, vereque divinus; neque deest quidquam ad summam hujusce Odæ sublimitatem absoluta pulchritudine cumulandem: cui, ut planè dicam quod sentio, nihil habet Græca aut Romana poesis simile aut secundum. [Throughout the whole, a free, sublime, and truly divine spirit prevaileth; nor is there any thing wanting to add to the sublimity and perfect beauty of this Ode: which if I should speak freely what I think, there is nothing that equals, or indeed that comes near to it, either in Greek or Roman poetry.] Prælec. XXVIII. p. 277, &c.

(6) Mr. Mason hath since published this with some other Odes in 1756.

True religion, and virtue, and liberty are more nearly related, and more intimately connected with each other, than people commonly consider. It is very true, as St. Paul saith, (2 Cor. iii. 17.) that *where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty:* or as our Saviour himself expresseth it, (John viii. 31, 32.) *If ye continue in my word, then are ye my disciples indeed; and ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make ye free.*

XI.

THE PROPHECIES CONCERNING TYRE.

ANOTHER city that was an enemy to the Jews, and another memorable instance of the truth of prophecy, is Tyre, whose fall was predicted by the prophets, and particularly by Isaiah and Ezekiel. But it hath been questioned among learned men, which of the Tyres was the subject of these prophecies, whether Palætyrus or old Tyre that was seated on the continent, or new Tyre that was built in an iland almost over against it. The truest and best answer I conceive to be, that the prophecies appertain to both, some expressions being applicable only to the former, and others only to the latter. In one place (Ezek. xxvii. 3.) it is described as *situate at the entry of the sea:* in others (ver. 4. and 25.) as *in the midst of the seas,* or according to the original *in the heart of the seas.* Sometimes (Ezek. xxvi. 6, &c.) it is represented as besieged *with horses and with chariots; a fort,* a *mount,* and *ensigns of war,* are *set against it:* at other times, (Is. xxiii. 2, 4, 6.) it is expresly called *an iland,* and *the sea, even the strength of the sea.* Now it is said (Ezek. xxvi. 10.) *By reason of the abundance of his horses, their dust shall cover thee, thy walls shall shake at the noise of the horsemen, and of the wheels, and of the*

chariots when he shall enter into thy gates, as men enter into a city wherein is made a breach. Then it is said, (ver. 12.) *They shall break down thy walls, and destroy thy pleasant houses, and they shall lay thy stones, and thy timber, and thy dust in the midst of the water;* and again (Ezek. xxviii. 8.) *They shall bring thee down to the pit, and thou shalt die the deaths of them that are slain in the midst of the seas.* The insular Tyre therefore, as well as the Tyre upon the continent, is included in these prophecies; they are both comprehended under the same name, and both spoken of as one and the same city, part built on the continent, and part on an iland adjoining. It is commonly said indeed, that when old Tyre was closely besieged, and was near falling into the hands of the Chaldæans, then the Tyrians fled from thence, and built new Tyre in the iland: but the learned (1) Vitringa hath proved at large from good authorities, that new Tyre was founded several ages before, and was the station for ships, and considered as part of old Tyre; and (2) Pliny speaking of the compass of the city, reckons both the old and the new together.

Whenever the prophets denounce the downfal and desolation of city or kingdom, they usually describe by way of contrast its present flourishing condition, to show in a stronger point of view how providence shifteth and changeth the scene, and ordereth and disposeth all events. The prophets Isaiah and Ezekiel observe the same method with regard to Tyre. Isaiah speaketh of it as a place of great antiquity, (xxiii. 7.) *Is this your joyous city, whose antiquity is of ancient days?* And it is mentined as a strong place as early as in the days of Joshua, (Josh. xix. 29.) *the strong city Tyre,* for there is no reason for supposing with (3) Sir John Marsham, that the name is used here by way of *prolepsis* or anticipation. Nay there are even heathen authors, who

(1) Vitring. Comment. in Iesaiam. Cap. 23. Vol. I. p. 667—671.

(2) Circuitus XIX mill. passuum est, intra Palætyro inclusa. ['The circumference, including old Tyre, is nineteen miles.'] Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib 6. Cap. 17. Edit Harduin.

(3) Marshami Chron. Sæc. XI. p. 290. Nomen id per prolepsin usurpatur, &c. [Translated in the text.]

speak of the insular Tyre, and yet extol the great antiquity of the place. The (4) Greek geographer Strabo saith, that after Sidon the greatest and most ancient city of the Phœnicians is Tyre, which is a rival to Sidon in greatness, and lustre, and antiquity. The (5) Roman historian Quintus Curtius saith, that it is a city remarkable to posterity both for the antiquity of its origin, and for its frequent change of fortune. Herodotus (6) who was himself at Tyre, and inquired into the antiquity of the temple of Hercules, was informed by the priests, that the temple was built at the same time as the city, and from the building of the city they counted two thousand and three hundred years. The ironical expression of the prophet, *Is this your joyous city, whose antiquity is of ancient days?* implies that the Tyrians were apt to boast of their antiquity: and by this account of Herodotus it appears that they did so, and much exceeded the truth: but there could have been no pretence for their boasting of thousands of years, if the city had not been built (as some contend) till after the destruction of the old city by the Chaldæans, that is not 130 years before. Josephus (7) asserts, that from the building of Tyre to the building of Solomon's temple, were 240 years: but he is with reason (8) supposed to speak of the insular Tyre; for the other part of the city on the continent was much older, was a strong place,

(4) Μετα δε Σιδονα, μεγιστη των Φοινικων, και αρχαιοτατη πολις Τυρος εστιν, ἡ εναμιλλος αυτη καλα τε μεγεθος, και καλα την επιφανειαν, και την αρχαιοτητα. Post Sidonem maxime et antiquissima Phœnicum est Tyrus, cum Sidone et magnitudine et forma et antiquitate comparanda. [Translated in the text.] Strabo, Lib. 16. p. 756. Edit. Paris. p. 1707. Edit. Amstel. 1707.

(5) Urbs et vetustate originis et crebra fortunæ varietate ad memoriam posteritatis insignis. [Translated in the text.] Quint. Curt. Lib. 4. Cap. 4.

(6) εφασαν γαρ, αμα Τυρῳ οικιζομενη και το ἱρον του θεου ἱδρυθηναι. ειναι δε ετεα αφ' ὁ Τυρον οικεουσι, τριηκοσια και δισχιλια. quippe dicentes ab urbe condita fuisse dei templum pariter extructum: esse autem a Tyro condita annorum duo millia ac trecentos. [For they said, that along with the, city the foundation of the temple of the gods was laid; and that from the building of Tyre, two thousand and three hundred years had elapsed.] Herod. Lib. 2. Cap. 44. p. 107. Edit. Gale.

(7) απο δε της οικησεως Τυρῳ εις την οικοδομιαν του νεω διαγεγονει χρονος ἑτων τεσσαρακοντα και διακοσιων. A Tyri autem conditu usque ad exstructionem templi elapsi sunt anni quadraginta et ducenti. [Translated in the text.] Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 8. Cap. 3. Sect. 1. p. 341. Edit. Hudson.

(8) Vide Vitring. ibid. p. 669.

as we have seen, in the days of Joshua, and is mentioned in the fragments of (9) Sanchoniathon, the Phœnician historian, who is (1) reckoned to have lived about the time of Gideon, (2) or somewhat later.

But ancient as this city was, it was the *daughter of Sidon*, as it is called by the prophet Isaiah, (xxiii. 12.) and (ver. 2.) *the merchants of Sidon, who pass over the sea, replenished it.* *Sidon* was the eldest son of Canaan, (Gen. x. 15.) and the city of *Sidon*, is mentioned by the patriarch Jacob, (Gen. xlix. 13.) and in the days of Joshua it is called *great Sidon*, (Josh. xi 8.) and in the days of the Judges the inhabitants of Laish are said (Judg. xviii. 7.) to have *dwelt careless and secure after the manner of the Sidonians.* We have seen already that Strabo affirms, that *after Sidon* Tyre was the greatest and most ancient city of the Phœnicians; and he (3) asserts likewise, that the poets have celebrated Sidon more, and Homer hath not so much as mentioned Tyre, *tho' he commends* Sidon and the Sidonians in several places. It may therefore with reason be inferred, that Sidon was the more ancient: and (4) Justin, the epitomizer of Trogus, hath expresly informed us, that the Sidonians being besieged by the king of Ascalon, went in ships and built Tyre. But tho' Tyre was the daughter of Sidon, yet the daughter soon equalled, and in time excelled the mother, and became the most celebrated place in the world for its trade and navigation, the seat of commerce and the center of riches, and is therefore called by Isaiah (xxiii. 3, 8.) *a mart of nations, the crowning city, whose merchants are princes, whose*

(9) Apud Euseb. Præpar. Evang. Lib. 1. Cap. 10. p. 35. Edit. Vigeri.

(1) Itaque commodè rejicitur in Gideonis tempora, &c. [Therefore he is properly thrown back to the time of Gideon.] Bochart. Chanaan. Lib. 2. Cap. 17. Col. 776.

(2) Stillingfleet's Origines Sacræ. B. 1. Cap. 2.

(3) Οἱ μὲν γε ποιηταὶ, τὴν Σιδῶνα τιθρυλληκασι μαλλον. Ὁμηρῳ δὲ εδὲ μεμνῆσθαι τῆς Τυρου. Poetæ quidem magis Sidonem celebrant, atqui adeo Homerus Tyri non meminit. [Translated in the text.] Strabo ibid. p. 1097.

(4) Post multos deinde annos a rege Ascalonorum expugnati, navibus appulsi Tyron urbem—condiderunt. ['Many years afterwards, the inhabitants of Sidon being driven from their city, by the king of Ascalon, and conveyed by their ships, went and built Tyre.] Justin. Lib. 18. Cap. 1. Sect. 5. p. 362. Edit. Grævii.

traffickers are the honorable of the earth: and Ezekiel, as it were commenting upon those words of Isaiah, *a mart of nations*, (Chap. xxvii.) recounts the various nations, whose commodities were brought to Tyre, and were bought and sold by the Tyrians.

It was in this wealthy and florishing condition, when the prophets foretold its destruction, Isaiah 125 years at least before it was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar. An extensive and beneficial trade soon produces luxury and pride. So it fared with the Tyrians; and for these and their other vices, as well as for their insults and injuries done to the Jews, the prophets prophesied against them. Isaiah mentions their pride as the great occasion of their fall, (xxiii. 9.) *The Lord of host hath purposed it, to stain the pride of all glory, and to bring into contempt all the honorable of the earth.* Ezekiel (xxvii. 3, &c.) describes at large their luxury even in their shipping. Cleopatra's sailing down the river Cydnos to meet her gallant, Antony, was not with greater finery and magnificence: nor have (5) the historians and poets painted the one in more lively colors, than the prophet hath the other. He censures likewise the pride of the king of Tyre in arrogating to himself divine honours. (xxviii. 2, &c.) *Son of man, say unto the prince of Tyrus, Thus saith the Lord God, Because thine heart is lifted up, and thou hast said, I am a God, I sit in the seat of God, in the midst of the seas; yet thou art a man, and not God, tho' thou set thine heart as the heart of God:—With thy wisdom and with thine understanding thou hast gotten thee riches, and hast gotten gold and silver into thy treasures: By thy great wisdom and by thy traffic hast thou increased thy riches, and thine heart is lifted up because of thy riches; Therefore thus saith the Lord God, Because thou hast set thine heart as the heart of God: Behold therefore, I will bring strangers upon thee, the terrible of the nations; and they shall draw their swords against the beauty of thy wisdom, and they shall defile thy bright-*

(5) Plutarch. in Antonio. p. 913. Vol. 1. Edit. Paris 1624. Shakespear. Dryden.

ness: They shall bring thee down to the pit, and thou shalt die the deaths of them that are slain in the midst of the seas. The prophets Joel and Amos had before denounced the divine judgments upon the Tyrians for their wickedness in general, and in particular for their cruelty to the children of Israel, and for buying and selling them like cattle in the markets. Thus saith the Lord by the prophet Joel, (iii. 5, &c.) *Because ye have taken my silver and my gold, and have carried into your temples my goodly pleasant things: The children also of Judah, and the children of Jerusalen have ye sold unto the Grecians, that ye might remove them far from their border: Behold, I will raise them out of the place whither ye have sold them, and will return your recompense upon your own head.* Amos speaketh to the same purpose, (i. 9.) *Thus saith the Lord, For three transgressions of Tyrus, and for four I will not turn away the punishment thereof; because they delivered up the whole captivity to Edom, and remembered not the brotherly covenant,* that is the league and alliance between Hiram king of Tyre on one part, and David and Solomon on the other. The Psalmist reckons them among the most inveterate and implacable enemies of the Jewish name and nation, (Psal. lxxxiii. 6, 7.) *The tabernacles of Edom, and the Ishmaelites, of Moab, and the Hagarenes, Gebal, and Ammon, and Amalek, the Philistines with the inhabitants of Tyre.* Ezekiel also begins his prophecy against them with a declaration, that it was occasioned by their insulting over the Jews upon the taking of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, (xxvi. 2, 3.) *Son of man, Because that Tyrus hath said against Jerusalem, Aha, she is broken that was the gates of the people; she is turned unto me, I shall be replenished, now she is laid waste: Therefore thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I am against thee, O Tyrus, and will cause many nations to come up against thee, as the sea causeth his waves to come up.*

These were the occasions of the prophecies against Tyre: and by carefully considering and comparing the prophecies together, we shall find the following particulars included in them; that the city was to be taken and

destroyed by the Chaldæans, who were at the time of the delivery of the prophecy an inconsiderable people, and particularly by Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon; that the inhabitants should fly over the Mediterranean into the ilands and countries adjoining, and even there should not find a quiet settlement; that the city should be restored after 70 years, and return to her gain and merchandise; that it should be taken and destroyed again: that the people should in time forsake their idolatry, and become converts to the true religion and worship of God; and finally that the city should be totally destroyed, and become a place only for fishers to spread their nets upon. We shall find these particulars to be not only distinctly foretold, but likewise exactly fulfilled.

I. The city was to be taken and destroyed by the Chaldæans, who were at the time of the delivery of the prophecy an inconsiderable people. This we think, is sufficiently implied in these words of the prophet Isaiah, (xxiii. 13.) *Behold, the land of the Chaldæans; this people was not till the Assyrian founded it for them that dwell in the wilderness, they set up the towers thereof, they raised up the palaces thereof; and he brought it to ruin. Behold,* an exclamation to show that he is going to utter something new and extraordinary; *the land of the Chaldæans,* that is Babylon and the country about Babylon; *this people was not,* was of no note or eminence, *till the Assyrian founded it for them that dwell in the wilderness,* they dwelt before in tents, and led a wandring life in the wilderness, till the Assyrians built Babylon for their reception. Babel or Babylon was first built by the children of men after the flood. After the dispersion of mankind, Nimrod made it the capital of his kingdom. With Nimrod it sunk again, till the Assyrians rebuilt it for the purposes here mentioned; *they set up the towers thereof, they raised up the palaces thereof,* and Herodotus, Ctesias, and other ancient historians agree that the kings of Assyria fortified and beautified Babylon; *and he,* that is, *this people* mentioned before, the Chaldæans or Babylonians, *brought it to ruin,* that is, Tyre, which is the

subject of the whole prophecy. The Assyrians were at that time the great monarchs of the east; the Chaldæans were their slaves and subjects; and therefore it is the more extraordinary, that the prophet should so many years beforehand foresee the successes and conquests of the Chaldæans.

Ezekiel lived nearer the time, and he declares expresly that the city should be taken and destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon; (xxvi. 7—11.) *Thus saith the Lord God, Behold I will bring upon Tyrus, Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, a king of kings from the north, with horses, and with chariots, and with horsemen, and companies, and much people;—he shall slay thy people by the sword, and thy strong garrisons shall go down to the ground.* Salmanaser king of Assyria (6) had besieged Tyre but without success; the Tyrians had with a few ships beaten his large fleet; but yet Nebuchadnezzar should prevail. Ezekiel not only foretold the siege, but mentions it afterwards as a past transaction, (xxix. 18.) *Son of man, Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon caused his army to serve a great service against Tyrus; every head was made bald, and every shoulder was peeled.*

Menander the Ephesian translated the Phœnician annals into Greek; and (7) Josephus asserts upon their authority, that Nebuchadnezzar besieged Tyre 13 years when Ithobal was king there, and began the siege in the seventh year of Ithobal's reign, and that he subdued Syria and all Phœnicia. The same (8) historian likewise observes, that Philostratus in his Indian and Phœnician histories affirms that this king (Nebuchadnezzar) besieged Tyre thirteen years, Ithobal reigning at that time in

(6) Annales Menandri apud Josephum, Antiq. Lib. 9. Cap. 14. Sect. 2. p. 428. Edit. Hudson.

(7) Joseph. contra Apion. Lib. 1. Sect. 20. et 21. Edit. Hudson.

(8) Φιλοστρατῳ εν ταις Ινδικαις αυθι και Φοινικικαις ιστοριαις, ὁτι ὁυτος ὁ βασιλευς επολιορκησε Τυρον ετη ιγ, βασιλευοντος καθ' ἑκεινον τον καιρον Ιθωβαλου της Τυρου. Philostratus tam in Indicis ejus quam Phœniciis historiis, quod hic rex tredecim annos Tyrum oppugnaverit, cum illo tempore Ithobalus in Tyro regnaret. [' Philostratus, both in his histories of India and Phœnicia, asserts, ' that this king besieged Tyre for the space of thirteen years, at the time that Ithobalus was king of Tyre.'] Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 10. Cap. 11. Sect. 1. p. 60. Edit. Hudson.

Tyre. The siege continuing so long, the soldiers must needs indure many hardships, so that hereby we better understand the justness of Ezekiel's expression, that *Nebuchadnezzar caused his army to serve a great service against Tyrus; every head was made bald, and every shoulder was peeled:* such light doth profane history cast upon sacred. It farther appears from the Phœnician annals quoted by the same (9) historian, that the Tyrians received their kings afterwards from Babylon, which plainly evinces that some of the blood royal must have been carried captives thither. The Phœnician annals too, as Dr. (1) Prideaux hath clearly shown, agree exactly with Ezekiel's account of the time and year, wherein the city was taken. Tyre therefore according to the prophecies was subdued and taken by Nebuchadnezzar and the Chaldæans: and after this we hear little more of that part of the city which stood upon the continent. It is some satisfaction that we are able to produce such authorities as we have produced, out of heathen historians, for transactions of such remote antiquity.

II. The inhabitants should pass over the Mediterranean into the ilands and countries adjoining, and even there should find no quiet settlement. This is plainly signified by Isaiah (xxiii. 6.) *Pass ye over to Tarshish*, that is to Tartessus in Spain, *howl ye inhabitants of the ile:* and again (ver. 12.) *Arise, pass over to Chittim*, that is the ilands and countries bordering upon the Mediterranean; *there also shalt thou have no rest.* What the prophet delivers by way of advice, is to be understood as a prediction. Ezekiel intimates the same thing, (xxvi. 18.) *The iles that are in the sea shall be troubled at thy departure.* It is well known that the Phœnicians were the best navigators of antiquity, and sent forth colonies into several parts of the world. A great scholar of the last century hath written a whole (2) treatise of the colonies of the Phœnicians, a work (as indeed all his are) of immense learning and erudition. And of all the Phœni-

(9) Joseph. contra Apion. Lib. 1. Sect. 21. p. 1344. Edit. Hudson.
(1) Prideaux Connect. Part 1. Book 2. Anno 573. Nebuchadnezzar 32.
(2) Bochartí Chanaan.

cians the Tyrians were the most celebrated for their shipping and colonies. Tyre exceeded Sidon in this respect, as (3) Strabo testifies, and sent forth colonies into Africa and Spain, unto and beyond the pillars of Hercules: and (4) Quintius Curtius saith, that her colonies were diffused almost over the whole world. The Tyrians therefore having planted colonies at Tarshish and upon the coasts of Chittim, it was natural for them, when they were pressed with dangers and difficulties at home, to fly to their friends and countrymen abroad for refuge and protection. That they really did so, St. Jerome asserts upon the authority of Assyrian histories, which are now lost and perished. 'We have 'read, (5) saith he, in the histories of the Assyrians, 'that when the Tyrians were besieged, after they saw 'no hope of escaping, they went on board their ships, 'and fled to Carthage, or to some ilands of the Ionian 'and Ægean sea.' And in another place he (6) saith, 'that when the Tyrians saw that the works for carrying 'on the siege were perfected, and the foundations of 'the walls were shaken by the battering of the rams, 'whatsoever precious things in gold, silver, clothes, and 'various kinds of furniture the nobility had, they put 'them on board their ships, and carried to the ilands; 'so that the city being taken, Nebuchadnezzar found 'nothing worthy of his labor.' It must have been grievous to Nebuchadnezzar, after so long and laborious a siege, to be disappointed of the spoil of so rich a city;

(3) Αἱ δὲ εἰς Λιβυην και την Ἰβηριαν αποικιαι, μεχρι και ἐξω στηλων, την Τυριον πολεον ἐξυμνησι μαλλον. Coloniæ tamen in Africam et Hispaniam usque ad loca extra columnas deductæ, Tyrum plurimum celebraverunt. ['But the colonies sent into Africa and Spain, to and beyond the pillars of Hercules, celebrated Tyre much in their songs.] Strabo. Lib. 16. p. 1097.

(4) Coloniæ certe ejus pene orbe toto diffusæ sunt. [Translated in the text.] Quint. Curt. Lib. 4. Cap. 4.

(5) Legimus in historiis Assyriorum, obsessos Tyrios, postquam nullam spem evadendi videbant, conscensis navibus fugisse Carthaginem, seu ad alias Ionii Ægeique maris insulas. [Translated in the text. Hieron. in Is. 23. 6. o. 144. Vol. 3. Edit. Benedict.

(6) Quod quum viderent Tyrii jam jamque perfectum, et percussione arietum murorum fundamenta quaterentur, quicquid preciosum in auro, argento, vestibusque, et varia supellectili nobilitas habuit, impositum navibus ad insulas asportavit; ita ut capta urbe, nihil dignum labore suo inveniret Nabuchodonosor. [Translated in the text.] Idem in Ezek. Cap. 29. p. 909.

and therefore Ezekiel was commissioned to promise him the conquest of Egypt for his reward; (xxix. 18, 19.) *Son of man, Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon caused his army to serve a great service against Tyrus: every head was made bald, and every shoulder was peeled: yet had he no wages, nor his army for Tyrus, for the service that he had served against it. Therefore thus saith the Lord God, Behold I will give the land of Egypt unto Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and he shall take her multitude, and take her spoil, and take her prey, and it shall be the wages for his army.*

But though the Tyrians should pass over to Tarshish and to Chittim, yet even there they should find no quiet settlement, *there also shalt thou have no rest.* Megasthenes, (7 who lived about 300 years before Christ, and was employed by Seleucus Nicator in an embassay to the king of India, wrote afterwards a history of India, wherein he mentioned Nebuchadnezzar with great honor. This historian is quoted by several ancient authors and he is cited particularly by (8) Strabo, Josephus, and Abydenus in Eusebius, for saying that Nebuchadnezzar surpassed Hercules in bravery and great exploits, that he subdued great part of Africa and Spain, and proceeded as far as to the pillars of Hercules. After Nebuchadnezzar had subdued Tyre and Egypt, we may suppose that he carried his arms farther westward: and if he proceeded so far as Megasthenes reports, the Tyrians might well be said to *have no rest,* their conqueror pursuing them from one country to another. But besides this and after this, the Carthaginians and other colonies of the Tyrians lived in a very unsettled state. Their history is made up of little but wars and tumults, even before their three fatal wars with the Romans, in every one of which their affairs grew worse and worse. Sicily and Spain, Europe and Africa,

(7) Arrian. de Exped. Alex. Lib. 5. Cap. 6. p. 203. Ejusdem Hist. Ind. Cap. 5. p. 318. Edit. Gronov. Voss. de Hist. Græc. Lib. 1. Cap. 11. Prid. Connect. Part 1. B. 8. Anno 298. Ptolemy Soter 7.

(8) Strabo, Lib. 15. p. 687. Edit. Paris. p. 1007. Edit. Amstel. 1707. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 10. Cap. 11. Sect. 1. p. 460. Contra Apion. Lib. 1. Sect. 20. p. 1343. Edit. Hudson. Euseb. Præpar. Evang. Lib. 9. Cap. 41. p. 456. Edit. Vigeri.

the land and their own element the sea, were theatres of their calamities and miseries; till at last not only the new but old Carthage too was utterly destroyed As the Carthaginians sprung from the Tyrians, and the Tyrians from the Sidonians, and Sidon was the first-born of Canaan, (Gen. x. 15.): so the curse upon Canaan seemeth to have pursued them to the most distant parts of the earth.

III. The city should be restored after 70 years, and return to her gain and her merchandise. This circumstance is expresly foretold by Isaiah, (xxiii. 15, 16, 17.) *And it shall come to pass in that day, that Tyre shall be forgotten seventy years, according to the days of one king,* or kingdom, meaning the Babylonian, which was to continue 70 years: *after the end of seventy years shall Tyre sing as an harlot. Take an harp, go about the city, thou harlot that hast been forgotten, make sweet melody, sing many songs, that thou mayest be remembered. And it shall come to pass after the end of seventy years, that the Lord will visit Tyre, and she shall turn to her hire, and shall commit fornication with all the kingdoms of the world upon the face of the earth.* Tyre is represented as a harlot, and from thence these figures are borrowed, the plain meaning of which is, that she should lie neglected of traders and merchants for 70 years, as long as the Babylonian empire lasted, and after that she should recover her liberties and her trade, and draw in several of all nations to deal with her, and particularly the kings of the earth to buy her purples, which were worn chiefly by emperors and kings, and for which Tyre was famous above all places in the world.

Seventy years was the time prefixed for the duration of the Babylonian empire. So long the nations were to groan under that tyrannical yoke, though these nations were subdued some sooner, some later than others. (Jer. xxv. 11, 12.) *These nations shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years: And it shall come to pass when seventy years are accomplished, that I will punish the king of Babylon, and that nation, saith the Lord, for their iniquity, and the land of the Chaldæans, and will*

make it perpetual desolations. And accordingly at the end of seventy years Cyrus and the Persians subverted the Babylonian empire, and restored the conquered nations to their liberties.

But we may compute these 70 years after another manner. Tyre was (9) taken by Nebuchadnezzar in the 32d year of his reign, and in the year 573 before Christ. Seventy years from thence will bring us down to the year 503 before Christ, and the 19th of Darius Hystaspis. At that time it appears from (1) history that the Ionians had rebelled against Darius, and the Phœnicians assisted him with their fleets: and consequently it is reasonable to conclude that they were now restored to their former privileges. In the succeeding reign we find (2) that they together with the Sidonians furnished Xerxes with several ships for his expedition into Greece. And by the time of Alexander the Tyrians were grown to such power and greatness, that they stopped the progress of that rapid conqueror longer than any part of the Persian empire besides. But all this is to be understood of the insular Tyre; for as the old city florished most before the time of Nebuchadnezzar, so the new city florished most afterwards, and this is the Tyre that henceforth is so much celebrated in history.

IV. The city should be taken and destroyed again. For when it is said by the prophets, (Is. xxiii. 6.) *Howl ye inhabitants of the ile;* (Ezek. xxvii. 32.) *What city is like Tyrus, like the destroyed in the midst of the sea?* (xxviii. 8.) *They shall bring thee down to the pit, and thou shalt die the death of them that are slain in the midst of the seas:* these expressions can imply no less than that the insular Tyre should be destroyed as well as that upon the continent; and as the one was accomplished by Nebuchadnezzar, so was the other by Alexander the great. But the same thing may be inferred more directly from the words of Zechariah, who prophesied in the reign of Darius, (Zech. i. l. vii. 1.) probably Darius Hystaspis,

(9) See Prideaux Connect. Part. 1. Book 2. and Book 4.

(1) Herod. Lib. 5. Cap. 108, &c. p. 330. Edit. Gale.

(2) Herod. Lib. 7. Cap. 89, &c. p. 412. Edit. Gale. Diod. Sic. Lib. 11. p. 244. Edit. Steph. p. 3. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod.

many years after the former destruction of the city, and consequently he must be understood to speak of this latter. His words are these, (ix. 3, 4.) *And Tyrus did build herself a strong hold, and heaped up silver as the dust, and fine gold as the mire of the streets. Behold the Lord will cast her out, and he will smite her power in the sea, and she shall be devoured with fire.* It is very true *that Tyrus did build herself a strong hold:* for her situation was very strong in an iland, and besides the sea to defend her she was (3) fortified with a wall of 150 feet in hight, and of a proportionable thickness. *She heaped up silver as the dust, and fine gold as the mire of the streets,* being the most celebrated place in the world for trade and riches, *the mart of nations* as she is called, conveying the commodities of the east to the west, and of the west to the east. But yet *Behold the Lord will cast her out, and he will smite her power in the sea, and she shall be devoured with fire.* Ezekiel had likewise foretold that the city should be consumed with fire, (xxviii. 18.) *I will bring forth a fire from the midst of thee, it shall devour thee, and I will bring thee to ashes upon the earth, in the sight of all them that behold thee.* And accordingly Alexander besieged, and took, and (4) set the city on fire. The ruins of old Tyre contributed much to the taking of the new city; for (5) with the stones and timber and rubbish of the old city Alexander built a bank or causey from the continent to the iland, thereby litterally fulfilling the words of the prophet Ezekiel, (xxvi. 12.) *They shall lay thy stones, and thy timber and thy dust in the midst of the water.* He was seven months in completing this work, but the time and labor were well employed, for by means hereof he was enabled to storm and take the city.

(3) Arrian. de Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Cap. 21. p. 96. Edit. Gronov.—— το τε ὑψος εις ϖεντηκοντα και ἑκατον μαλιστα ϖοδας, και ες σταδιος ξυμμετρον. ——CL. admodum pedes altus, latitudine altitudini respondente. ['The heighth was nearly an hundred and fifty feet, and the thickness proportionable.']

(4) Quint. Curt. Lib. 4. Cap. 4.—ignemque tectis injici jubet.

(5) Quint. Curt. Lib. 4. Cap. 2. Diod. Sic. Lib. 17. p. 583. Edit. Steph. p. 519. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod.

As in the former siege the inhabitants according to the prophecies fled over the Mediterranean to the ilands and countries adjoining, so they did likewise in this latter siege; for (6) Diodorus Siculus and Quintus Curtius both testify that they sent their wives and children to Carthage; and upon the taking of the place the (7) Sidonians secretly conveyed away fifteen thousand more in their ships. Happy were they who thus escaped, for of those who remained behind, the (8) conqueror slew eight thousand in the storming and taking of the city, he caused two thousand afterwards cruelly to be crucified, and thirty thousand he sold for slaves. They had before sold some of the captive Jews, and now it was returned upon them according to the prediction of Joel, (iii. 6, 7, 8.) *The children also of Judah, and the children of Jerusalem have ye sold; Behold I will return your recompense upon your own head, and will sell your sons and your daughters.* This is the main of the prophecy, that as they had sold the captive Jews, so they should be sold themselves: and having seen this so punctually fulfilled, we may more easily believe that the other parts were so too, though at this distance of time, and in this scarcity of ancient historians, we are not able to prove all the particulars. When the city was taken before, the Tyrians received their kings afterwards from Babylon; and now (9) their king held his crown by Alexander's appointment. The cases are parallel in many respects:

(6) ——————τεκνα μεν και γυναικας και τας γεγηρακοτας εις Καρχηδονα διακομιζειν εψηφισαντο. liberos et uxores cum senio confectis Carthaginem transportare decerunt. ['They determined to send their children and wives, and aged people to Carthage.] τελος δε, του τεκνων και γυναικων μερος μεν εφθασαν υπεκθεμενοι προς τους Καρχηδονιους. tandem deponenda quadam apud Carthaginenses liberorum et uxorum parte (hostem) antevertunt. ['At length they prevented a part of their children and wives from falling into the hands of the enemy, by sending them away secretly to the Carthaginians.'] Diod. Sic. Lib. 18. ibid. Conjuges liberosque devehendos Carthaginem tradiderunt. ['They delivered their wives and children to be conveyed to Carthage.'] Quint. Curt. Lib. 4. Cap. 3.

(7) Quint. Curt. Lib. 4. Cap. 4.

(8) Arrian. Lib. 2. Cap. 24. p. 100. Edit. Gronov. Quintus Curtius. ibid.

(9) Diod. Sic. Lib. 17. p. 587. Edit. Steph. p. 524. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod. της μεν Τυριων πολεως καθεστησε βασιλεα τον ονομαζομενον Βαλλωνυμον. Tyriorum urbi regem præfecit cui Ballonymo nomen. ['He appointed one named Ballonymus, king of the city of the Tyrians.']

but the city recovered much sooner from the calamities of this siege than from the fatal consequences of the former. For in (1) nineteen years time it was able to withstand the fleets and armies of Antigonus, and sustained a siege of fifteen months before it was taken: a plain proof, as Dr. Prideaux observes, of "the great advantage of "trade. For this city being the grand mart, where most "of the trade both of the east and west did then center, "by virtue hereof it was, that it so soon revived to its pris-"tin vigor."

V. It is usual with God to temper his judgments with mercy; and amidst these calamities it is also foretold, that there should come a time, when the Tyrians would forsake their idolatry, and become converts to the true religion and worship of God. The Psalmist is thought to have hinted as much, in saying (xlv. 12.) *The daughter of Tyre shall be there with a gift*, and again (lxxii. 10.) *The kings of Tarshish and of the iles shall bring presents.* Zechariah, when he foretels the calamities which the Tyrians and neighbouring nations should suffer from Alexander, (ix. 1—7.) at the same time predicts their conversion to the true God; *but he that remaineth, even he shall be for our God.* But nothing can be plainer than Isaiah's declaration that they should consecrate the gains of their merchandise for the maintenance of those who minister to the Lord in holy things. (xxiii. 18.) *And her merchandise and her hire shall be holiness to the Lord: it shall not be treasured, nor laid up: for her merchandise shall be for them that dwell before the Lord, to eat sufficiently, and for durable clothing.* Here particularly we must be much obliged to the learned (2) Vitringa, who hath fully shown the completion of this article; as indeed every one who would rightly understand the prophet Isaiah, must be greatly obliged to that excellent commentator, and will receive more light and assistance from him than from all besides him.

The Tyrians were much addicted to the worship of

(1) Diod. Sic. Lib. 19. p. 704. Edit. Steph. p. 703. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod. Prideaux Connect. Part. 1. B. 8. Anno 313. Alexander Ægus 4.

(2) Vitring. Comment. in Iesaiam. Cap. 23. Vol. 1. p. 704.

Hercules as he was called by the Greeks; or Baal as he is denominated in scripture. But in process of time, by the means of some Jews and proselytes living and conversing among them, some of them also became proselytes to the Jewish religion; so that *a great multitude of people from the sea coast of Tyre and Sidon came to hear* our Saviour (Luke vi. 17.) *and to be healed of their diseases:* and our Saviour, who was *sent only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel,* yet came *into the coasts of Tyre and Sidon;* (Matt. xv. 21, &c. Mark vii. 24, &c.) and the first fruits of the gospel there was a Tyrian woman, *a woman of Canaan,* as she is called, a *Syrophœnician by nation.* When St. Paul in his way to Jerusalem came to Tyre, he found disciples there, who were inspired by the holy Ghost and prophesied, (Acts xxi. 4.) and with them he *tarried forty days.* The Tyrians were such sincere converts to christianity, that in the time of Dioclesian's persecution they exhibited several glorious examples of confessors and martyrs, as (3) Eusebius himself saw, and hath amply testified in his book of the martyrs of Palestine. Afterwards when the storm of persecution was blown over, the Tyrians under their bishop Paulinus built an oratory or rather a temple for the public worship of God, the most magnificent and sumptuous in all Palestine and Phœnicia, which temple (4) Eusebius hath described, and celebrated in a handsome panegyric, whereof he hath inserted a copy in his history, but modestly concealed the name of the author. Eusebius therefore commenting upon this passage of Isaiah, might very well (5) say that 'it is fulfilled in 'our time. For since a church of God hath been 'founded in Tyre as well as in other nations, many of 'its goods gotten by merchandise are consecrated to the

(3) Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 8. Cap. 7. De Martyr. Palestinæ. Cap. 5. et 7.
(4) Euseb. Hist. Lib. 10. Cap. 4.
(5) Ὁ δὲ καὶ πεπλήρωται καθ' ἡμᾶς αὐτούς. quod nostro tempore impletum videmus. Nam cum ecclesia Dei in urbe Tyro perinde ac in reliquis gentibus fundata sit, multæ ex ejus mercibus negotiatione partis Domino consecrantur, ecclesiæ ejus oblatæ: videlicet ut mox exposuit, in usum ministrorum altaris sive evangelii, secundum institutum Domini, ut ministri altaris ex eo vivant. [Translated in the text.]

'Lord, being offered to his church;' as he afterwards explains himself, 'for the use of the ministers of the 'altar or gospel, according to the institution of our 'Lord, that they who wait at the altar should live of the 'altar.' In like manner (6) St. Jerome: 'We may 'behold churches in Tyre built to Christ; we may see 'their riches that they are not laid up, nor treasured, 'but given to those who dwell before the Lord. For 'the Lord hath appointed, that they who preach the 'gospel should live of the gospel.' And how liberally and munificently the bishops and clergy were at that time maintained, how plentifully they were furnished with every thing, *to eat sufficiently, and for durable clothing*, no man can want to be informed, who is ever so little conversant in ecclesiastical history. To these proofs we will only add, that as Tyre consecrated its merchandise and hire unto the Lord, so it had the (7) honor of being erected into an archbishopric, and the first archbishopric under the patriarchate of Jerusalem, having fourteen bishops under its primacy; and in this state it continued several years.

V. But after all the city should be totally destroyed, and become a place only for fishers to spread their nets upon. When the prophets denounced the destruction of a city or country, it was not intended that such denunciation should take effect immediately. The sentence of condemnation (as I may say) was then passed upon it, but the execution might be respited for some time. When it was threatened that Babylon should become a desolation without an inhabitant, there were yet many ages before it was reduced to that condition; it decayed by degrees, till at last it came to nothing; and now the place is so little known, that you may look for Babylon in the midst of Babylon. In like manner Tyre was not to be ruined and desolated all at once. Other things

(6) Cernamus in Tyro extructas Christi ecclesias, consideremus opes omnium, quod non reponantur, nec thesaurizentur, sed dentur his qui habitant coram Domino.——Sic enim et Dominus constituit, ut qui evangelium prædicant, vivant de evangelio. [Translated in the text.] Hieron. in Is. Cap. 23. p. 146. Vol. 3. Edit. Benedict.

(7) Sandy's Travels, B. 3. p. 168. 6th Edit. 1670. Hoffman's Lexion, &c.

were to happen first. It was to be restored after 70 years; it was to be destroyed and restored again, in order to its being adopted into the church. These events were to take place, before Ezekiel's prophecies could be fully accomplished; (xxvi. 3, 4, 5.) *Thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I am against thee, O Tyrus, and will cause many nations to come up against thee, as the sea causest his waves to come up: And they shall destroy the walls of Tyrus, and break down her towers; I will also scrape her dust from her, and make her like the top of a rock: It shall be a place for the spreading of nets in the midst of the sea: for I have spoken it, saith the Lord God.* He repeats it to shew the certainty of it, (ver. 14.) *I will make thee like the top of a rock; thou shalt be a place to spread nets upon; thou shalt be built no more; for I the Lord have spoken it, saith the Lord God:* and again (ver. 21.) *I will make thee a terror, and thou shalt be no more; though thou be sought for, yet shalt thou never be found again, saith the Lord God.*

These prophecies, like most others, were to receive their completion by degrees. Nebuchadnezzar, as we have seen destroyed the old city; and Alexander employed the ruins and rubbish in making his causey from the continent to the iland, which henceforwards were joined together. "It is no wonder therefore," as Bishop (8) Pococke observes, "that there are no signs of "the ancient city; and as it is a sandy shore, the face of "every thing is altered, and the great aqueduct in many "parts is almost buried in the sand." So that as to this part of the city, the prophecy hath litterally been fulfilled, *Thou shalt be built no more; tho' thou be sought for, yet shalt thou never be found again.* It may be questioned whether the new city ever after that arose to that highth of power, wealth, and greatness, to which it was elevated in the times of Isaiah and Ezekiel. It received a great blow from Alexander, not only by his taking and burning the city, but much more by his building of Alexandria in Egypt, which in time deprived it of much

(8) Pococke's Descript. of the East. Vol. 2. B. i. Chap. 20. p. 81, 82.

of its trade, and thereby contributed more effectually to its ruin. It had the misfortune afterwards of changing its masters often, being sometimes in the hands of the Ptolemies kings of Egypt, and sometimes of the Seleucidæ kings of Syria, till at length it fell under the dominion of the Romans. It was taken by the (9) Saracens about the year of Christ 639 in the reign of Omar their third emperor. It was retaken by the (1) Christians during the time of the holy war in the year 1124, Baldwin the second of that name being then king of Jerusalem, and assisted by a fleet of the Venetians. From the Christians it was (2) taken again in the year 1289 by the Mamalucs of Egypt, under their Sultan Alphix, who sacked and raised this and Sidon and other strong towns, that they might not ever again afford any harbour or shelter to the Christians. From the Mamalucs it was (3) again taken in the year 1516 by Selim, the ninth emperor of the Turks; and under their dominion it continues at present. But alas, how fallen, how changed from what it was formerly? For from being the center of trade, frequented by all the merchant ships of the east and west, it is now become a heap of ruins, visited only by the boats of a few poor fishermen. So that as to this part likewise of the city, the prophecy hath litterally been fulfilled, *I will make thee like the top of a rock; thou shalt be a place to spread nets upon*

The famous (4) Huetius knew one Hadrianus Pervillerius, a Jesuit, a very candid man and a master of

(9) Ockley's Hist. of the Saracens, Vol. I. p. 340.

(1) Abul Pharajii Hist. Dyn. 9. p. 250. Vers. Pocockii. Savage's Abridgment of Knolles and Rycaut. Vol. I. p. 26.

(2) Savage's Abridgment, Vol. I. p. 95. Pocock. Descrip. of the East, Vol. 2. B. 1. Cap. 20. p. 83.

(3) Savage's Abridgment, Vol. 1. p. 241.

(4) Hadrianum Parvillerium, e societate Jesu, virum candidissimum et Arabice doctissimum, qui decem annos in Syria egit, memini me audire aliquando eum diceret, sibi olim ad collapsas Tyri ruinas accedenti, et rupes mari prætentas, ac disjectos passim in littori lapides procul spectanti, sole, fluctibus et auris detersos ac levigatos, et siccandis solum piscatorum retibus, quæ tum forte plurima desuper expansa erant, utiles, venisse in memoriam hujus prophetiæ Ezekiens de Tyro (XXVI. 5, 14.) *Dabo te in limpidissimam petram: siccatio sagenarum eris, nec ædificaberis ultra, quia ego locutus sum, ait Dominus Deus.* [Translated in the text.] Huetii Demonstrat. Evang. Prop. 6. ad finem. p. 358.

Arabic, who resided ten years in Syria; and he remembers to have heard him sometimes say, that when he approached the ruins of Tyre, and beheld the rocks stretched forth to the sea, and the great stones scattered up and down on the shore, made clean and smooth by the sun and waves and winds, and useful only for the drying of fishermen's nets, many of which happened at that time to be spread thereon, it brought to his memory this prophecy of Ezekiel concerning Tyre; (xxvi. 5, 14.) *I will make thee like the top of a rock; thou shalt be a place to spread nets upon; thou shalt be built no more; for I the Lord have spoken it, saith the Lord God.*

Dr. (5) Shaw in his account of Tyre thus expresseth himself, "I visited several creeks and inlets in order to "discover what provision there might have been for- "merly made for the security of their vessels. Yet not- "withstanding that Tyre was the chief maritime power "of this country, I could not observe the least token of "either *cothon* or harbour that could have been of any "extraordinary capacity. The coasting ships indeed, "still find a tolerable good shelter from the northern "winds under the southern shore, but were obliged im- "mediately to retire, when the winds change to the "west or south; so that there must have been some "better station than this for their security and reception. "In the N. N. E. part likewise of the city, we see the "traces of a safe and commodious bason, lying within "the walls: but which at the same time is very small, "scarce forty yards in diameter. Neither could it ever "have enjoyed a larger area, unless the buildings, which "now circumscribe it, were encroachments upon its ori- "ginal dimensions Yet even this port, small as it is "at present, is notwithstanding so choaked up with sand "and rubbish, that the boats of those poor fishermen, "who now and then visit this once renowned emporium, "can with great difficulty only be admitted."

But the fullest for our purpose is Mr. Maundrell, whom it is a pleasure to quote as well as to read, and

(5) Shaw's Travels, p. 330.

whose journal of his journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, though a little book, is yet worth a folio, being so accurately and ingeniously written, that it might serve as a model for all writers of travels. "This city, (6) saith "he, standing in the sea upon a peninsula, promises at "a distance something very magnificent. But when "you come to it, you find no similitude of that glory, "for which it was so renowned in ancient times, and "which the prophet Ezekiel describes Chap. 26, 27, 28. "On the north side it has an old Turkish ungarrisoned "castle; besides which you see nothing here, but a meer "Babel of broken walls, pillars, vaults, &c. there "being not so much as one entire house left; its present "inhabitants are only a few poor wretches harbouring "themselves in the vaults, and subsisting chiefly upon "fishing, who seem to be preserved in this place by "divine Providence, as a visible argument, how God "has fulfilled his word concerning Tyre, viz. that *it "should be as a top of a rock, a place for fishers to dry "their nets on.*"

Such hath been the fate of this city, once the most famous in the world for trade and commerce. But trade is a fluctuating thing: it is passed from Tyre to Alexandria, from Alexandria to Venice, from Venice to Antwerp, from Antwerp to Amsterdam and London, the English rivalling the Dutch, as the French are now rivalling both. All nations almost are wisely applying themselves to trade: and it behoves those who are in possession of it, to take the greatest care that they do not lose it. It is a plant of tender growth, and requires sun, and soil, and fine seasons, to make it thrive and florish. It will not grow like the palm-tree, which with the more weight and pressure rises the more. Liberty is a friend to that, as that is a friend to liberty. But the greatest enemy to both is licentiousness, which trampies upon all law and lawful authority, encourages riots and tumults, promotes drunkenness and debauchery, sticks at nothing to supply its extravagance, practises every art

(6) Maundrell, p. 48, 49. 5th Edit.

of illicit gain, ruins credit, ruins trade, and will in the end ruin liberty itself. Neither kingdoms nor commonwealths, neither public companies nor private persons, can long carry on a beneficial florishing trade without virtue, and what virtue teacheth, sobriety, industry, frugality, modesty, honesty, punctuality, humanity, charity, the love of our country, and the fear of God. The prophets will inform us how the Tyrians lost it; and the like causes will always produce the like effects. (Is. xxx. 8, 9.) *Who hath taken this counsel against Tyre, the crowning city, whose merchants are princes, whose traffickers are the honourable of the earth? The Lord of hosts hath purposed it, to strain the pride of all glory, and to bring into contempt all the honorable of the earth.* (Ezek. xxvii. 3, 4.) *Thus saith the Lord God, O Tyrus, thou hast said, I am of perfect beauty. Thy borders are in the midst of the seas, thy builders have perfected thy beauty.* (xxviii. 5, &c.) *By thy great wisdom, and by thy traffick hast thou increased thy riches, and thy heart is lifted up because of thy riches. By the multitude of thy merchandise they have filled the midst of thee with violence, and thou hast sinned; therefore will I cast thee as profane out of the mountain of God. Thine heart was lifted up because of thy beauty, thou hast corrupted thy wisdom by reason of thy brightness. Thou has defiled thy sanctuaries by the multitude of thine iniquities, by the iniquity of thy traffick; therefore will I bring forth a fire from the midst of thee, it shall devour thee, and I will bring thee to ashes upon the earth, in the sight of all them that behold thee. All they that know thee among the people, shall be astonished at thee; thou shalt be a terror, and never shalt thou be any more.*

XII.

THE PROPHECIES CONCERNING EGYPT.

EGYPT is one of the first and most famous countries that we read of in history. In the Hebrew scriptures it is called *Mizraim* and *the land of Ham*, having been first inhabited after the deluge by Noah's youngest son *Ham* or *Hammon*, and by his son *Mizraim*. The name of *Egypt* is of more uncertain derivation. It appears that the river was so called in (1) Homer's time; and from thence, as Hesychius imagins, the name might be derived to the country. Others more probably conceive that the meaning of the name (2) Egyptus is αια Cuphti, *the land of Cuphti*, as it was formerly called by the Egyptians themselves and their neighbours the Arabians. All agree in this, that the kingdom of Egypt was very ancient; but some have carried this antiquity to an extravagant and fabulous highth, their dynasties being utterly irreconcileable to reason and history both, and no ways to be solved or credited but by supposing that they extend beyond the deluge, and that they contain the catalogues of several contemporary, as well as of some successive kings and kingdoms. It is certain that in the days of Joseph if not before those in the days of Abraham, it was a great and florishing kingdom. "There are monuments of its

(1) Hom. Odys. XIV. 257, 258.

Πεμπταιοι δ' Αιγυπτον εϋρρειτην ικομεσθα·
Στησα δ' εν Αιγυπτῳ ποταμῳ νεας αμφιελισσας.

Quinto die autem ad Ægyptum pulchrè fluentem venimus:
Statui vero in Ægypto fluvio naves remis utrinque-agitatas.

['The fifth fair morn we stem th' Ægyptian tide;
And tilting o'er the bay the vessels ride:
To anchor there my fellows I command.']

Hesychius: Αιγυπτος, ὁ Νειλος ποταμος αφ' ὁ και ἡ χωρα απο των νεωτερων Αιγυπτος εκληθη. Ægyptus, Nilus fluvius; a quo ipsa regio recentioribus appellata est Ægyptus. ['Egypt, the river Nile, from which the country by later writers, hath been called Egypt.']

(2) Mede's Works, B. 1. Disc. 50. p. 281. Hoffmanni Lexicon, &c.

greatness yet remaining to the surprise and astonishment of all posterity, of which as we know not the time of their erection, so in all probability we shall never know the time of their destruction.

This country was also celebrated for its wisdom, no less than for its antiquity. It was, as I may call it, the great academy of the earlier ages. Hither the wits and sages of Greece and other countries repaired, and imbibed their learning at this fountain. It is mentioned to the commendation of Moses (Acts vii. 22.) that he *was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians*: and the highest character given of Solomon's wisdom (1 Kings iv. 30.) is that it *excelled the wisdom of all the children of the east country, and all the wisdom of Egypt.* But with this wisdom, and this greatness, it was early corrupted; and was as much the parent of superstition, as it was the mistress of learning; and the one as well as the other were from thence propagated and diffused over other countries. It was indeed the grand corrupter of the world, the source of polytheism and idolatry to several of the eastern, and to most of the more western nations; and degenerated at last to such monstrous and beastly worship, that we shall scarcely find a parallel in all history.

However this was the country, where the children of Israel were in a manner born and bred; and it must be said they were much perverted by their education, and retained a fondness for the idols of Egypt ever afterwards. Several of Moses's laws and institutions were plainly calculated to wean them from, and to guard them against the manners and customs of the Egyptians. But still in their hearts and affections they were much inclined to return into Egypt. Even Solomon married his wife from thence. And upon all occasions they courted the friendship and alliance of Egypt rather than of any of the neighbouring powers. Which prejudice of theirs was the more extraordinary, as the Egyptians generally treated them very injuriously. They oppressed them with most cruel servitude in Egypt. They gave them leave to depart, and then pursued them as fugitives.

Shishak king of Egypt came up against Jerusalem, (1 Kings xiv. 25, 26.) and plundered it. And in all their leagues and alliances Egypt was to them as *a broken reed,* (Is. xxxvi. 6.) *whereon if a man lean, it will go into his hand and pierce it.* Upon all these accounts we might reasonably expect that Egypt would be the subject of several prophecies, and we shall not be deceived in our expectation.

It is remarkable, that the prophecies uttered against any city or country, often carry the inscription of *the burden* of that city or country. The prophecies against Nineveh, Babylon, and Tyre were inscribed (Nahum i. 1.) *the burden of Nineveh,* (Is. xiii. 1.) *the burden of Babylon,* and (Is. xxiii. 1.) *the burden of Tyre:* and so here likewise (Is. xix. 1.) the prophecies against Egpyt have the title of *the burden of Egypt.* And by *burden* is commonly understood a threatening burdensome prophecy, big with ruin and destruction, which like a dead weight is hung upon a city or country, to sink it. But the word in the original is of more general import and signification. Sometimes it signifies a prophecy at large: as the prophecies of Habakuk and Malachi are entitled *the burden which Habakuk the prophet did see,* and the *burden of the word of the Lord to Israel by Malachi:* and it is rendered a *vision* or *prophecy* in the Septuagint and other ancient versions. Sometimes it signifies a prophecy of good as well as of evil: as it was said of the false prophets who prophesied peace when there was no peace. (Lament. ii. 14.) *Thy prophets have seen vain and foolish things for thee, they have seen for thee false burdens;* and Zechariah's prophecy of the restoration and triumphs of the Jews in the latter days is entitled (Zech. xii. 1.) *the burden of the word of the Lord for Israel.* Sometimes it is translated *a prophecy,* where there is no prophecy, but only some grave moral sayings or sentences, as (Prov. xxxi. 1.) *the words of Agur the son of Jakeh, even the prophecy;* and again (Prov. xxxi. 1.) *the words of king Lemuel, the prophecy that his mother taught him.* We may farther observe that the word is used of the author of the prophecy, as well as the subject of it: and there

is *the burden of the Lord,* and *the burden of the word of the Lord,* as well as *the burden of Babylon,* and *the burden of Egypt.* We may be certain too, that this title was affixed to the prophecies by the prophets themselves, and not by the scribes who collected their writings afterwards, because it appears from Jeremiah (xxiii. 33, &c.) that the scoffers and infidels of his time made a jest and derision of it; and therefore they are forbidden to mention it any more as being a term of ambiguous signification; and instead of inquiring *what is the burden of the Lord,* they are commanded to say *what hath the Lord answered? and what hath the Lord spoken?* The (3) word in the original is derived from a verb that signifies to take up, to lift up, to bring forth, and the like; and the proper meaning of it is any weighty important matter or sentence, which ought not to lie neglected, but is worthy of being carried in the memory, and deserves to be lifted up and uttered with emphasis. Such, eminently such are all these prophecies, and those relating to Egypt as well as the rest. For they comprise the principal revolutions of that kingdom from the times of the prophets to this day.

I. The first great revolution, that we shall mention, was the conquest of this kingdom by Nebuchadnezzar, which was particularly foretold by Jeremiah and Ezekiel. These two prophets have both employed several sections or chapters upon this occasion. Jeremiah was carried into Egypt, and there foretold (Chap. xliii.) the conquest of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon: and some of his prophecies are entitled (xlvi. 13.) *The word that the Lord spake to Jeremiah the prophet, how Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon should come and smite the land of Egypt.* Ezekiel also declares, (xxx. 10, 11.) *Thus saith the Lord God, I will also make the multitude of Egypt to cease by the hand of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon: He and his people with him, the terrible of the nations shall be brought to destroy the land; and they shall draw their swords against Egypt, and fill the land*

(3) נשא a נשא Tulit, Attulit, Protulit, &c. [Translated in the text.] Buxtorf.

with the slain: and the conquest of this kingdom was promised to Nebuchadnezzar as a reward for his services against Tyre, which after a long siege he took and destroyed, but was disappointed of the spoil, as was observed in the foregoing dissertation; (Ezek. xxix. 18, 19.) *Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon caused his army to serve a great service against Tyrus: every head was made bald, and every shoulder was peeled: yet had he no wages, nor his army for Tyrus, for the service that he had served against it. Therefore thus saith the Lord God, Behold I will give the land of Egypt unto Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and he shall take her multitude, and take her spoil, and take her prey, and it shall be the wages for his army.*

Now for this early transaction we have the (4) testimonies of Megasthenes and Berosus, two heathen historians, who lived about 300 years before Christ, one of whom affirms expresly that Nebuchadnezzar conquered the greatest part of Africa, and the other affirms it in effect, in saying that when Nebuchadnezzar heard of the death of his father, having settled his affairs in Egypt, and committed the captives whom he took in Egypt to the care of some of his friends to bring them after him, he hasted directly to Babylon. If neither Herodotus nor Diodorus Siculus have recorded this transaction, what (5) Scaliger said of one of them may be very justly applied to both, that those Egyptian priests, who informed them of the

(4) καταστρεψασθαι γαρ αυτον φησι Λιβυης την πολλην. eum enim vastasse dicit magnam Libyæ partem. [' For he says, that he laid waste a great part of Libya.'] Magasthenes apud Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 10. Cap. 11. Sect. 1. Edit. Hudson. αισθομενος δε μετ' ου πολυν χρονον την του πατρος τελευτην Ναβουχοδονοσορου, και καταστησας τα κατα την Αιγυπτον πραγματα. κ. τ. λ. Nabuchodonosorus vero, non multo post patris morte cognita, rebusque in Ægypto ordinatis, &c. [' But Nebuchadnezzar, not long after, having heard of the death of his father, and having set in order his affairs in Egypt, &c.] Berosus ibid. Vid. etiam Eusebii Præp. Evangel. Lib. 9. Cap. 40. et 41.

(5) Quod perspicuè indicatur Jeremiæ, id Herodotus ignoravit: quia sacerdotes illi Ægyptii, qui ei sciscitanti de rebus Ægyptiacis respondebant, ea, quæ ad laudem gentis faciebant, tantum docuerunt; cætera quæ ad illorum ignaviam, servitutem et tributa, quæ Chaldæis pendebant, tacuerunt. Scalig. in Fragm. p. 11. [What is plainly told to Jeremiah, Herodotus was ignorant of. For these Egyptian priests, who answered his questions concerning the affairs of Egypt, told him only those things, which tended to the honour of their nation, but concealed every thing relating to their idleness, their servitude, or the tribute which they paid to the Chaldeans.]

Egyptian affairs, taught them only those things which made for the honour of their nation; other particulars of their idleness, servitude, and the tribute which they paid to the Chaldæans, they concealed. Josephus we may presume, had good authorities, and was supported by earlier historians, when he (6) asserted, that Nebuchadnezzar, having subdued Cœle-Syria, waged war against the Ammonites and Moabites; and having conquered them, he invaded Egypt, and slew the king who then reigned, and appointed another.

It is indeed most highly probable, that Apries was dethroned, and Amasis constituted king by Nebuchadnezzar; and I think we may infer as much from Herodotus himself. The name of the king of Egypt at that time according to Jeremiah was *Pharaoh-Hophra*, and he can be none other than the *Apries* of Herodotus. Ezekiel represents him as an arrogant impious prince, (xxix. 3.) as *the great dragon* or crocodile *that lieth in the midst of his rivers, which hath said, My river is my own, and I have made it for myself:* and agreeably hereto (7) Herodotus informs us, that Apries proudly and wickedly boasted of having established his kingdom so surely, that it was not in the power of any god to dispossess him of it. However Jeremiah foretold, that he should be taken and slain by his enemies, (xliv. 30.) *Thus saith the Lord, Behold, I will give Pharaoh-Hophra king of Egypt into the hand of his enemies, and into the hand of them that seek his life, as I gave Zedekiah king of Judah into the*

(6) ——— στρατευει δ αυτῳ [Ναβυχοδονοσορῳ] επι την Κοιλην Συριαν· και κατασχων αυτην, επολεμησε και Αμμανιτας και Μωαβιτας· ποιησαμενῳ δε υπηκοα ταυτα τα εθνη, ενεβαλεν εις την Αιγυπτον καταστρεψομενῳ αυτην. και τον μεν τοτε βασιλεα κτεινει. καταστησας δε ἑτερον. κ. τ. λ.——— exercitum ipse eduxit in Cœlen-Syriam; eaque occupata et Ammonitis et Moabitis bellum intulit. Istis autem gentibus in potestatem suam reductis, impetum fecit in Ægyptum, ut ipsam debellaret, ac regem quidem, qui tunc regnabat, occidit; alio vero constituto, &c. [Translated in the text.] Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 10. Cap. 9. Sect. 7. p. 454. Ed. Hudson.

(7) Απριεω δε λεγεται ειναι ηδε η διανοια. μηδ' αν θεον μιν μηδενα δυνασθαι παυσαι της βασιλειης· ὡτω ασφαλεως εαυτῳ ιδρυσθαι εδοκει. Fertur Apries et fuisse persuasione, de deum quidem ullum posse sibi adimere regnum: adeo videbatur sibi illud stabilisse. ['It is reported, that Apries was fully persuaded, that no one of the gods was able to put an end to his kingdom, so firmly established did it seem to him.'] Herod. Lib. 2. Sect. 169. p. 155. Edit. Gale.

hand of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, his enemy, and that sought his life: and accordingly (8) Apries was taken and strangled by Amasis, who was by Nebuchadnezzar constituted king in his room.

Ezekiel foretold, that the country should be desolated forty years, and the people carried captive into other countries: (xxix. 12.) *I will make the land of Egypt desolate in the midst of the countries that are desolate, and her cities among the cities that are laid waste, shall be desolate forty years; and I will scatter the Egyptians among the nations, and will disperse them through the countries.* We cannot prove indeed from heathen authors, that this desolation of the country continued exactly forty years, tho' it is likely enough that this, as well as the other conquered countries, did not shake off the Babylonian yoke till the time of Cyrus, which was about forty years after the conquest of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar: but we are assured by (9) Berosus, that Nebuchadnezzar took several captives in Egypt, and carried them to Babylon; and from (1) Megasthenes we learn, that he transplanted and settled others in Pontus. So true it is, that they were *scattered among the nations, and dispersed through the countries,* and might upon the dissolution of the Babylonian empire return to their native country.

II. Not long after this was another memorable revolution, and the country was invaded and subdued by Cambyses and the Persians, which is the main subject of the 19th chapter of Isaiah. Some parts indeed of this prophecy have a near affinity with those of Jeremiah and Ezekiel concerning the conquest of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar, and St. Jerome and others apply it to Nebuchadnezzar: but this prophecy, as well as several others,

(8) Herod. ibid. Diod. Sic. Lib. 1. p. 43. Edit. Steph. p. 62. Edit. Rhod.

(9) Berosus apud Josephum, Lib. 10. Cap. 11. Sect. 1. p. 459. Edit. Hudson. και τους αιχμαλωτους——των καλα την Αιγυπτον εθνων, συνταξας τισι των φιλων——ανακομιζειν εις την Βαβυλωνιαν. ['Having given his Egyptian captives in charge to some of his friends—to convey them to Babylon.']

(1) —— αποδασμον αυτων εις τα δεξια τα Ποντω κατοικισαι. colonias in dextram Ponti plagam deportasse. ['He caused a colony of them to be settled on the right hand side of Pontus.'] Megasthenes apud Eusebium. ibid. Cap. 41. p. 456. Edit. Vigeri.

might admit of a double completion, and be fulfilled at both those periods. For this prophecy of Isaiah is a general representation of the calamities of the nation; it includes various particulars; it is applicable to Nebuchadnezzar and the Babylonians, as well as to Cambyses and the Persians. They might therefore be both intended and comprehended in it: but the latter, I conceive were principally intended, and for this reason; because the deliverance of the Egyptians by some great conqueror, and their conversion afterwards to the true religion, which are foretold in the latter part of this chapter, were events consequent to the dominion of the Persians, and not to that of the Babylonians.

The prophet begins with declaring that the conquest of Egypt should be swift and sudden, and that the idols of Egypt should be destroyed; (ver. 1.) *Behold the Lord rideth upon a swift cloud, and shall come into Egypt, and the idols of Egypt shall be moved at his presence, and the heart of Egypt shall melt in the midst of it.* The same thing is foretold of Nebuchadnezzar by Jeremiah, (xlvi. 11, &c.) *And when he cometh, he shall smite the land of Egypt—And I will kindle a fire in the houses of the gods of Egypt, and he shall burn them, and carry them away captives—He shall break also the images of Bethshemesh, that is in the land of Egypt; and the houses of the gods of the Egyptians shall he burn with fire:* And again by Ezekiel (xxx. 13.) *Thus saith the Lord God, I will also destroy the idols, and I will cause their images to cease out of Noph,* or Memphis. We are not furnished with ancient authors sufficient to prove these particulars (however probable) in the history of Nebuchadnezzar and the Babylonians; but we have ample proofs with relation to Cambyses and the Persians. The first attempt made by Cambyses was upon (2) Pelusium, a strong town at the entrance of Egypt, and the key of the kingdom; and he succeeded by the stratagem of placing before his army a great number of dogs, sheep, cats, and other animals, which being held sacred by the

(2) Polyæni Stratagem. Lib. 7. Cap. 9. p. 620. Edit. Maasvicii.

Egyptians, not one of them would cast a javelin, or shoot an arrow that way; and so the town was stormed and taken in a manner without resistance. He (3) treated the gods of Egypt with marvelous contempt, laughed at the people, and chastised the priests for worshipping such deities. He slew Apis, or the sacred ox, which the Egyptians worshipped, with his own hand; and burnt and demolished their other idols and temples; and would likewise, if he had not been prevented, have destroyed the famous temple of Jupiter Hammon. Ochus too, who was another king of Persia, and subdued the Egyptians again after they had revolted, (4) plundered their temples, and caused Apis to be slain and served up in a banquet to him and his friends.

The prophet foretels, that they should also be miserably distracted with civil wars; (ver. 2.) *And I will set the Egyptians against the Egyptians; and they shall fight every one against his brother, and every one against his neighbour, city against city, and kingdom against kingdom;* νομος επι νομον, as the Seventy translate it, province against province, Egypt being divided into νομοι, prefectures or provinces. Vitringa and others apply this to the time of the (5) δωδεκαρχια or the reign of the twelve kings, the anarchy that preceded, and the civil wars that ensued, wherein the genius and fortune of Psammitichus prevailed over the rest. But it may perhaps be more properly applied to what agrees better in point of time with other parts of the prophecy, (6) the civil wars between Apries and Amasis at the time of Nebuchadnezzar's invasion, and the (7) civil wars between Tachos, Nectanebus, and the Mendesian, a little before the country was finally subdued by Ochus.

(3) Herod. Lib. 3. Sect. 27, &c. p. 172. Sect. 37, &c. p. 176. Edit. Gale. Strabo. Lib. 17. p. 805. Ed. Paris. p. 1158. Edit. Amstel. 1707. Justin. Lib. 1. Cap. 9. p. 29. Edit. Grævii.

(4) Diod. Sic. Lib. 16. p. 537. Edit. Steph. p. 448. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod. Plutarch. de Isid. et Osir. p. 355. Edit. Paris. 1624.

(5) Herod. Lib. 2. Sect. 147—154. p. 146—150. Edit. Gale. Diod. Sic. Lib. 1. p. 41. &c. Edit. Steph. p. 59, &c. Tom. 1. Edit. Rhod.

(6) Herod. Lib. 2. Sect. 169. p. 155. Edit. Gale. Diod. Sic. Lib. 1. p. 43. Edit. Steph. p. 62. Tom. 1. Edit. Rhod.

(7) Plutarch in Agesilao. Diod. Sic. Lib. 15. p. 506. Edit. Steph. p. 399. &c. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod.

It is no wonder, that in such distractions and distresses as these, the Egyptians being naturally a cowardly people, should be destitute of *counsel*, and that *the spirit of Egypt should fail in the midst thereof*, as the prophet foretels; (ver. 3.) and that being also a very superstitious people, *they should seek to the idols, and to the charmers, and to them that have familiar spirits, and to the wizards*. But their divination was all in vain; it was their fate to be subdued and oppressed by cruel lords and tyrants; (ver. 4.) *And the Egyptians will I give over into the hand of a cruel lord; and a fierce king shall rule over them, saith the Lord, the Lord of hosts.* This is the most essential part of the prophecy; and this Grotius and others understand of Psammitichus: but it doth not appear from history, that Psammitichus was such a *fierce* and *cruel* tyrant; on the contrary he (8) reestablished the government, and reigned long and prosperously for Egypt in many respects. It may with greater truth and propriety be understood of Nebuchadnezzar and the Babylonians, whose dominion was very grievous to the conquered nations: but with the greatest propriety and justice it may be applied to the Persians, and especially to Cambyses and Ochus; one of whom put the yoke upon the neck of the Egyptians, and the other rivetted it there; and who are both branded in history for cruel tyrants and monsters of men. The Egyptians said that Cambyses, after his killing of Apis, was stricken with madness; but his actions, saith (9) Dr. Prideaux after Herodotus, showed him to have been mad long before. He could hardly have performed those great exploits, if he had been a downright madman: and yet it is certain that he was very much like one: there was a mixture

(8) Herod. Lib. 2. Sect. 153—157. p. 150, 151. Edit. Gale. Diod. Sic. Lib. 1. p. 42. Edit. Steph. p. 60. Tom. 1. Edit. Rhod. Vide etiam Marshami Chron. Sæc. 17. p. 505.

(9) Prid. Connect. Part 1. B. 3. Anno 525. Cambyses 5. Herod. Lib. 3. Sect. 30. p. 173. Edit. Gale. Καμβυσης δε (ως λεγουσι Αιγυπτιοι) δια τουτο το αδικημα αυτικα εμανη, εων ουδε προτερον φρενηρης. Ob hoc scelus (ut Ægyptii aiunt) continuo Cambyses insaniit; quum ne prius quidem compos mentis fuisset. ['But Cambyses, (as the Egyptians say) on account of this wickedness, was immediately stricken with madness, but before that, he was not in his right senses.']

of barbarity and madness in all his behaviour. Ochus was the cruellest and worst of all the kings of Persia, and was so destructive and oppressive to Egypt in particular, that his favorite eunuch (1) Bagoas, who was an Egyptian, in revenge of his injured country, poisoned him. The favors shown to himself could not compensate for the wrongs done to his country. None other allegation is wanting to prove, that the Persian yoke was galling and intolerable to the Egyptians, than their frequent revolts and rebellions, which served still but to augment their misery, and inslave them more and more.

The prophet then proceeds to set forth in figurative language (ver. 5—10.) the consequences of this subjection and slavery, the poverty and want, the mourning and lamentation, the confusion and misery, which should be intailed on them and their posterity: and afterwards he recounts (ver. 11—17.) the immediate causes of these evils, the folly of the princes and rulers who valued themselves upon their wisdom, and the cowardice and effeminacy of the people in general. These things will plainly appear to any one by perusing the history of the nation, but it would carry us beyond all bounds to prove them by an induction of particulars. In general it may be said, that Egypt would not have become a prey to so many foreign enemies, but through the excessive weakness of the Egyptians both in counsel and in action. They had not the courage even to defend themselves. They trusted chiefly to their Grecian and other mercenaries, who instead of defending, were often the first to betray them.

III. The next memorable revolution was effected by Alexander the great, who subverted the Persian empire in Egypt as well as in all other places: and this event, I entirely agree with Vitringa, is pointed out to us in this same 19th chapter of Isaiah. It is also foretold, that about the same time several of the Egyptians should be converted to the true religion and the worship of the

(1) Diod. Sic. Lib. 16. p. 564. Edit. Steph. p. 490. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod. Æliani Var. Hist. Lib. 6. Cap. 8.

God of Israel. And as these events, which are the subjects of the latter part of the chapter, (ver. 18—25.) followed upon the subversion of the Persian empire; we may be satisfied, that our application of the former part of the chapter to the Persians in particular, was not a misapplication of the prophecy. *In that day*, that is after that day, after that time, as the phrase signifies, and should be translated in several passages of the prophets, *shall five cities in the land of Egypt speak the language of Canaan*, profess the religion of the Hebrews; as in Zephaniah, (iii. 9.) *I will turn to the people a pure language*, I will restore to the people a pure religion, *that they may all call upon the name of the Lord, to serve him with one consent. And swear to the Lord of hosts: one shall be called the city of destruction*, or of the sun, as it is in the margin of our bibles, meaning Heliopolis, a famous city of Egypt. *In that day shall there be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar at the border thereof to the Lord*, such as Jacob erected (Gen. xviii. 18.) at Bethel. *And it shall be for a sign, and for a witness unto the Lord of hosts in the land of Egypt: for they shall cry unto the Lord because of the oppressors, and he shall send them a saviour and a great one, and he shall deliver them. And the Lord shall be known to Egypt, and the Egyptians shall know the Lord in that day, and shall do sacrifice and oblation, yea, they shall vow a vow unto the Lord, and perform it.* The prophet describes the worship of future times, according to the rites and ceremonies of his own time. *And the Lord shall smite Egypt, he shall smite and heal it, and they shall return even to the Lord, and he shall be intreated of them, and shall heal them.* The prophet then proceeds to shew, that Assyria or Syria and Egypt, which used to be at great enmity with each other, shall be united in the same worship by the intermediation of Israel, and they three shall be a blessing in the earth. *In that day shall there be a high way out of Egypt to Assyria, and the Assyrian shall come into Egypt, and the Egyptian into Assyria, and the Egyptians shall serve with the Assyrians. In that day shall Israel be the third with Egypt, and with Assyria, even*

a blessing in the midst of the land: Whom the Lord of hosts shall bless, saying, Blessed be Egypt, my people, and Assyria the work of my hands, and Israel mine inheritance.

Here it is clearly foretold, that a *great* prince, a *saviour sent by God,* from a foreign country, should *deliver* the Egyptians from their Persian *oppressors,* and *heal* their country, which was *smitten of God* and afflicted: and who could this be but Alexander, who is always distinguished by the name of Alexander *the great,* and whose first successor in Egypt was called *the great* Ptolemy, and Ptolemy Soter or *the saviour?* Upon Alexander's first coming into Egypt, the (2) people all chearfully submitted to him out of hatred to the Persians, so that he became master of the country without any opposition. For this reason he treated them with humanity and kindness, built a city there which after his own name he called Alexandria, appointed one of their own country for their civil governor, and permitted them to be governed by their own laws and customs. By these changes and regulations, and by the prudent and gentle administration of some of the first Ptolemies, Egypt revived, trade and learning florished, and for a while peace and plenty blessed the land.

But it is more largely foretold, that about the same time the true religion and the worship of the God of Israel should begin to spread and prevail in the land of Egypt: and what event was ever more unlikely to happen than the conversion of a people so sunk and lost in superstition and idolatry of the worst and grossest kind? It is certain that many of the Jews, after Nebuchadnezzar had taken Jerusalem, fled into Egypt, and carried along with them Jeremiah the prophet, (Jer. xliii. &c.) who there uttered most of his prophecies concerning the conquest of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar. From thence some knowledge of God, and some notices of the prophecies might easily be derived to the Egyptians. It is said that this alteration should be effected

(2) Diod. Sic. Lib. 17. p. 588. Edit. Steph. p. 526. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod. Arrian. Lib. 3. Cap. 1. &c. Quint. Curtius, Lib. 4. Cap. 7 et 8.

principally in *five cities*. If a certain number be not here put for an uncertain, I should conclude with (3) Le Clerc, that the *five* cities, wherein the worship of the one true God was received, were *Heliopolis* which is particularly named in the text, and the four others, which are mentioned in Jeremiah (xliv. 1.) as the places of the residence of the Jews, *Migdol* or Magdolum, *Tahpanhes* or Daphne, *Noph* or Memphis, and the fourth *in the country of Pathros* or Thebais, not mentioned by name, perhaps Amon-no or Diospolis. There the Jews chiefly resided at that time: and though they were generally very wicked men, and disobedient to the word of the Lord, and upon that account the prophet Jeremiah denounced the heaviest judgments against them; yet some good men might be mingled among them, who might open his prophecies to the Egyptians, and they themselves when they saw them fulfilled, might embrace the Jewish religion. But this is to be understood not of all the inhabitants of those places, but only of some; which is sufficient to justify the expression of *five cities*

(3) Si liceret conjicere de nominibus quinque [quatuor] aliarum urbium, dicerem eas esse, quæ memorantur Jeremiæ Cap. XLIV. 2. Migdol (Herodoto Magdolus) Thachphanches (eidem Daphne) Noph sive Memphis, et quarta in terra Pathros seu Pathyride, quæ nomine non appellatur, forte Amon-no sivé Diospolis. In iis habitarunt Judæi, qui Chaldæorum metu post captam Ierosolimam in Ægyptum migrârant, eóque invitum Jeremiam abduxerant. Quibus, improbis quippe, licet extrema mala iis propheta minetur, potuerunt tamen nonnulli pii admisti esse, qui vaticinia ejus Ægyptiis aperuerint, et ipsi, cum ea impleta vidissent, Judaicam religionem amplexi sint. Quod intelligi nolim de incolis omnibus eorum locorum; sed de nonnullis; quod satis est, ut dicentur quinque urbes *lingua Chanahanitide loquturæ, et per Jehovem juraturæ.* ['If one might form a conjecture, concerning the names of five (four) other cities, I would say that they are those mentioned by Jeremiah in Chap. xliv. 1. namely Migdol, (called by Herodotus, Magdolus) Thachphanches, (called by the same author Daphne,) Noph, or Memphis, and the fourth, in the country of Pathros, or Pathyris, the name of which is not mentioned, perhaps Amon-No, or Diospolis. In these cities dwelt the Jews, who, through fear of the Chaldeans, carried thither along with them Jeremiah against his will. Amongst whom, though they migrated into Egypt, and after the taking of Jerusalem, were very wicked in general, on which account the prophet denounced against them very heavy calamities, yet there might be some godly men, who made known to the Egyptians his predictions. And these last, when they saw them accomplished, embraced the Jewish religion. This however I would not have understood of all the inhabitants of these places, but only of some. For that is a sufficient reason, why mention should be made of *five cities*, speaking the language of Canaan, and swearing by the name of Jehovah.'] Comment. in locum.

speaking the language of Canaan, and swearing by the Lord of hosts.

Alexander the great (4) transplanted many of the Jews into his new city of Alexandria, and allowed them privileges and immunities equal to those of the Macedonians themselves. Ptolemy Soter (5) carried more of them into Egypt, who there enjoyed such advantages, that not a few of the other Jews went thither of their own accord, the goodness of the country and the liberality of Ptolemy alluring them. Ptolemy Philadelphus (6) redeemed and released the captive Jews: and in his reign or his father's, the books of Moses were translated into Greek, and afterwards the other parts of the Old Testament. The third (7) Ptolemy, called Euergetes, having subdued all Syria, did not sacrifice to the gods of Egypt in acknowlegment of his victory; but coming to Jerusalem, made his oblations to God after the manner of the Jews: and the king's example, no doubt, would influence many of his subjects. The sixth (8) Ptolemy, called Philometer, and his queen Cleopatra, committed the whole management of the kingdom to two Jews, Onias and Dositheus, who were their chief ministers and generals, and had the principal direction of all affairs both civil and military. This Onias obtained a licence from the king and queen to build a temple for the Jews in Egypt like that at Jerusalem, alleging for this purpose this very prophecy of Isaiah, that there should *be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt;* and the king and queen in their rescript make honorable mention of the law and of the prophet Isaiah, and express a dread of sinning against God. The place, chosen for the building of this temple,

(4) Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 2. Cap. 18. Sect. 7. p. 1098. Contra Apion. Lib. 2. Sect. 4. p. 1364. Edit. Hudson.

(5) Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 1. p. 508 Hecatæus apud Joseph. Contra Apion. Lib. 1. Sect. 22. p. 1347. Edit. Hudson.

(6) Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 2. p. 508. Contra Apion. Sect. 4. p. 1365. Edit. Hudson. Hody. de Vers. Græc. Lib. 2. Cap. 2.

(7) Joseph. Contra Apion. Lib. 2. Sect. 5. p. 1365 Edit. Hudson.

(8) Joseph. Contra Apion. Ibid. Antiq. Lib. 13. Cap. 3. p. 502. De Bell. Jud. Lib. 1. Cap. 1. Sect. 1. p. 958. Lib. 7. Cap. 10. Sect. 2. p. 1325. Edit. Hudson.

was in the prefecture of Heliopolis or *the city of the sun*, which place is likewise mentioned in the prophecy. It was built after the model of the temple at Jerusalem, but not so sumptuous and magnificent. He himself was made high-priest: other priests and Levites were appointed for the ministration; and divine service was daily performed there in the same manner as at Jerusalem, and continued as long; for Vespasian, having destroyed the temple at Jerusalem, ordered this also to be demolished.

By these means *the Lord* must in some degree *have been known to Egypt, and the Egyptians must have known the Lord:* and without doubt there must have been many proselytes among them. Among those who came up to the feast of Pentecost (Acts ii. 10.) there are particularly mentioned *the dwellers in Egypt and in the parts of Lybia about Cyrene, Jews and proselytes.* Nay from the instance of Candace's eunuch (Acts viii. 27.) we may infer that there were proselytes even beyond Egypt, in Ethiopia. Thus were the Jews settled and encouraged in Egypt, insomuch that (9) Philo represents their number as not less than a hundred myriads or ten hundred thousand men. Nor were they less favored or rewarded for their services, by the kings of Syria. Seleucus Nicator (1) made them free of the cities, which he built in Asia and the lower Syria, and of Antioch itself the capital of his kingdom; and granted the same rights and privileges to them as to the Grecks and Macedonians. Antiochus the great (2) published several decrees in favor of the Jews, both of those who inhabited Jerusalem, and of those who dwelt in Mesopotamia and Babylonia. Josephus (3) saith that the Jews gained many proselytes at Antioch. And thus by the means of the Jews and proselytes dwelling in Egypt and Syria, Israel, Egypt and Syria were in

(9) ουκ αποδεουσι μυριαδων εκατον——['They were not short of a hundred myriads.'] In Flaccum, p. 971. Edit. Paris. 1640.

(1) Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 3. p. 519. Edit. Hudson.

(2) Joseph. ibid.

(3) De Bell. Jud. Lib. 7. Cap. 3. Sect. 3. p. 1299. Edit. Hudson.

some measure united in the same worship. But this was more fully accomplished, when these countries became christian, and so were made members of the same body in Christ Jesus. And we piously hope and believe, that it will still receive its most perfect completion in the latter days, when Mohammedism shall be rooted out, and Christianity shall again florish in these countries, when *the fulness of the Gentiles shall come in, and all Israel shall be saved.*

IV. But there is a remarkable prophecy of Ezekiel, which comprehends in little the fate of Egypt from the days of Nebuchadnezzar, to the present. For therein it is foretold, that after the desolation of the land and the captivity of the people by Nebuchadnezzar, (xxix. 14, 15.) *it should be a base kingdom: It shall be the basest of the kingdoms, neither shall it exalt itself any more above the nations; for I will diminish them, that they shall no more rule over the nations:* and again in the next chapter, (ver. 12, 13.) *I will sell the land into the hand of the wicked, and I will make the land waste, and all that is therein, by the hand of the strangers: and there shall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt.* Such general prophecies, like general rules, are not to be understood so strictly and absolutely, as if they could not possibly admit of any kind of limitation or exception whatever. It is sufficient if they hold good for the most part, and are confirmed by the experience of many ages, tho' perhaps not without an exception of a few years. The prophets exhibit a general view of things, without entering into the particular exceptions. It was predicted (Gen. ix. 25.) that *Canaan should be a servant of servants unto his brethren;* and generally his posterity were subjected to the descendents of his brethren: but yet they were not always so; upon some occasions they were superior; and Hannibal and the Carthaginians obtained several victories over the Romans, tho' they were totally subdued at last. In like manner it was not intended by this prophecy, that Egypt should ever afterwards, in every point of time, but only that it should for much the greater part of time, be *a base kingdom*, be tributary

and subject to strangers. This is the purport and meaning of the prophecy; and the truth of it will best appear by a short deduction of the history of Egypt from that time to this.

Amasis was left king by Nebuchadnezzar; and as he held his crown by the permission and allowance of the Babylonians, there is no room to doubt that he paid them tribute for it. Berosus, the Chaldæan historian, (4) in a fragment preserved by Josephus, speaketh of Nebuchadnezzar's reducing Egypt to his obedience, and afterwards of his settling the affairs of the country, and carrying captives from thence to Babylon. By his constituting and settling the affairs of Egypt nothing less could be meant than his appointing the governors, and the tribute that they should pay to him; and by carrying some Egyptians captive to Babylon, he plainly intended not only to weaken the country, but also to have them as hostages to secure the obedience of the rest, and the payment of their tribute. If Herodotus hath given no account of these transactions, the reason is evident, according to the observation cited before from Scaliger; the Egyptian priests would not inform him of things, which were for the discredit of their nation. However we may, I think, confirm the truth of this assertion even by Herodotus's own narration. The Persians succeeded in right of the Babylonians: and it appears (5) by Cyrus's sending for the best physician in Egypt to Amasis, who was obliged to force one from his wife and children; and by Cambyses's demanding the daughter of Amasis, not for a wife but a mistress; by these instances, I say, it appears that they considered him as their tributary and subject. And indeed no reason can be assigned for the strong resentment of the Persians against Amasis, and their horrid barbarity to his dead body, so probable and satisfactory, as his having re-

(4) Και καλαγησας τα καλα την Αιγυπτον πραγματα και την λοιπην χωραν, και τες αιχμαλωτους—των καλα την Αιγυπτον εθνων, κ. τ. λ. ['And having settled his affairs in Egypt, and in the rest of the country, he sent his Egyptian prisoners, &c.'] Joseph. Atiq. Lib. 10. Cap. 11. Sect. 1. p. 459. Edit. Hudson.

(5) Herod. Lib. 3. Sect. 1. p. 161. Edit. Gale.

volted and rebelled against them. Herodotus himself (6) mentions the league and alliance, which Amasis made with Crœsus king of Lydia against Cyrus.

Upon the ruins of the Babylonian empire, Cyrus erected the Persian. Xenophon hath written the life of this extraordinary man: and he affirms (7) both in the introduction and near the conclusion of his history, that Cyrus also conquered Egypt, and made it part of his empire; and there is not a more faithful, as well as a more elegant historian than Xenophon. But whether Cyrus did or not, it is universally allowed that his (8) son Cambyses did conquer Egypt, and deprived Psammenitus of his crown, to which he had newly succeeded upon the death of his father Amasis. Cambyses purposed to have made Psammenitus administrator of the kingdom under him, as it was the custom of the Persians to do to the conquered princes: but Psammenitus forming schemes to recover the kingdom, and being convicted thereof, was forced to drink bull's blood, and thereby put an end to his life. The Egyptians groaned under the yoke near forty years. Then they revolted (9) towards the latter end of the reign of Darius the son of Hystaspes: but his son and successor Xerxes, in the second year of his reign, subdued them again, and reduced them to a worse condition of servitude than they had been in under Darius, and appointed his brother Achæmenes governor of Egypt. About four and twenty years after this, when (1) the Egyptians heard of the troubles in Persia about the succession to the throne after the death of Xerxes, they revolted again at the instigation of Inarus king of Lybia; and having drove away the Persian tribute-collectors, they constituted Inarus their king. Six years were employed in reducing them to obedience, and all Egypt submitted again to

(6) Herod. Lib. 1. Sect. 77. p. 32. Edit. Gale.

(7) Xenophon. Cyropæd. Lib. 1. p. 2. Lib. 8. p. 137. Edit. Henr. Steph. 1581.

(8) Herod. Lib. 3. Sect. 10—15. p. 164—167. Edit. Gale.

(9) Herod. Lib. 7. Sect. 1. et 7. p. 384. Edit Gale.

(1) Thucydides Lib. 1. Sect. 104—110. p. 57—60. Edit. Hudson. Diodorus Siculus, Lib. 11. p. 279. Edit. Steph. p. 54, &c. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhodomani.

the king Artaxerxes Longimanus, except Amyrtæus who reigned in the fens, whither the Persians could not approach to take him: but Inarus, the author of these evils, was betrayed to the Persians, and was crucified. However they (2) permitted his son Thannyra to succeed his father in the kingdom of Lybia; and Egypt continued in subjection all the remaining part of the long reign of Artaxerxes. In the (3) tenth year of Darius Nothus they revolted again under the conduct of Amyrtæus, who sallied out of the fens, drove the Persians out of Egypt, made himself master of the country, and reigned there six years; but his son Pausiris, (4) as Herodotus informs us, succeeding him in his kingdom by the favor of the Persians, this argues that the Persians had again subdued Egypt, or at least that the king was not established without their consent and approbation. It is certain, that after this, Egypt gave much trouble to the Persians. Artaxerxes Mnemon (5) made several efforts to reconquer it, but all in vain. It was not totally and finally subdued till the (6) ninth year of the following reign of Ochus, about 350 years before Christ; when Nectanebus the last king fled into Ethiopia, and Ochus became absolute master of the country, and having appointed one of his nobles, named Pherendates, to be his viceroy and governor of Egypt, he returned with great glory and immense treasures to Babylon. Egypt from that time hath never been able to recover its liberties. It hath always been subject to strangers. It hath never been governed by a king of its own. From this last revolt of the Egyptians in the tenth year of Darius Nothus, to their total subjugation in the ninth year of Ochus, I think there are computed sixty four years: and this is the only exception of any

(2) Herod. Lib. 3. Sect. 15. p. 167. Edit. Gale.

(3) Eusebius in Chronico. Usher's Annals, A. M. 3590. p. 146. Prideaux Connect. Part. 1. Book 6. Anno 414.

(4) Herod. Lib. 3. Sect. 15. Ibid.

(5) Diod. Sic. Lib. 15. p. 478. Edit. Steph. p. 357, &c. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod.

(6) Diod. Sic. Lib. 16. p. 537. Edit. Steph. p. 448. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod. Usher's Annals. A. M. 3654. p. 196. Prid. Connect. Part 1. B. 7. Anno 350.

significance to the general truth of the prophecy. But what are sixty-four years compared to two thousand three hundred and twenty-five? for so many years have passed from the conquest of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar to this time. They are really as nothing, and not worth mentioning in comparison: and during these sixty-four years, we see, that the Egyptians were not entirely independent of the Persians; Pausiris succeeded his father Amyrtæus in the kingdom by their consent and favor: and during the rest of the time the Egyptians lived in continual fear and dread of the Persians, and were either at war with them, or with one another. And perhaps this part of the prophecy was not intended to take effect immediately: its completion might be designed to commence from this period, when the Persians had totally subdued Egypt, and then there should be *no more a prince of the land of Egypt.*

After the Persians Egypt came into the hands of the Macedonians. It submitted to Alexander the great without striking a stroke; made no attempts at that favorable juncture to recover its liberties, but was content only to change its master. After the death of Alexander it fell to the share of Ptolemy one of his four famous captains, and was governed by his family for several generations. The two or three first of the Ptolemies were wise and potent princes, but most of the rest were prodigies of luxury and wickedness. It is (7) Strabo's observation, that all after the third Ptolemy governed very ill, being corrupted by luxury; but they who governed worst of all were the fourth, and the seventh, and the last called Auletes. The persons here intended by Strabo were (8) Ptolemy Philopator or *the lover of his father*, so

(7) Ἅπαντες μεν ουν οι μετα τον τριτον Πτολεμαιον υπο τρυφης διεφθαρμενοι, χειρον επολιτευσαντο, χειριστα δ' ὁ τεταρτος, και ὁ εβδομος, και ὁ υστατος ὁ Αυλητης. Omnes post tertium Ptolemæum maiè regnum gesserunt, luxu perditi: omnium verò pessimè quartus, et septimus, et ultimus, Auletes. [Translated in the text.] Strab. Lib. 17. p. 796. Edit. Paris. p. 1146. Edit. Amstel. 1707.

(8) Justin. Lib. 29. Cap. 1. Sect. 5. p. 466. Edit. Grævii. Ægyptum, patre ac matre interfectis, occupaverat Ptolemæus, cui ex facinoris crimine, cognomentum *Philopatori* fuit. ['Ptolemy had gotten possession of Egypt by slaying his father and mother. From that crime he had the surname of Philopator, given to him.']

called (as Justin conceives) by way of antiphrasis, or with a contrary meaning, because he was a parricide, and murdered both his father and his mother; and (9) Ptolemy Physcon or the big-bellied, who affected the title of *Euergetes* or *the benefactor*, but the Alexandrians more justly named him *Kakergetes* or *the malefactor*; (1) Ptolemy Auletes or *the piper*, so denominated because he spent much of his time in playing on the pipe, and used to contend for the prize in the public shows. This kingdom of the Macedonians (2) continued from the death of Alexander 294 years, and ended in the famous Cleopatra, of whom it is not easy to say, whether she excelled more in beauty, or wit, or wickedness.

After the Macedonians Egypt fell under the dominion of the Romans. The Romans had either by virtue of treaties or by force of arms obtained great authority there, and were in a manner arbiters of the kingdom before, but after the death of Cleopatra (3) Octavius Cæsar reduced it into the form of a Roman prince, and appointed Cornelius Gallus, the friend of Virgil, to whom the tenth eclogue is inscribed, the first prefect or governor: and so it continued to be governed by a prefect or viceroy sent from Rome, or from Constantinople, when after the division of the Roman empire it fell to the share of the eastern emperors. It was first made a province of the Roman empire in the year (4) 30 before Christ, and in this state it remained without much variation till the year 641 after Christ, that is 670 years in the whole from the reign of Augustus Cæsar to that of the emperor Heraclius.

Then it was that the (5) Saracens, in the reign of Omar their third emperor, and under the command of

(9) Athenæus, Lib. 12. p. 549. Edit. Casaubon.

(1) Strabo ibid.

(2) Clemens Alexan. Strom. Lib. 1. p. 143. Edit. Sylburg. p. 396. Edit. Potter. Prideaux Connect. Part 2. B. 8. Anno 30. Herod. 8.

(3) Strabo, Lib. 17. p. 797, et 819. Edit. Paris. p. 1147, et 1175. Edit. Amstel. 1707. Dion. Cass. Lib. 51. p. 455. Edit. Leunclav.

(4) See Usher, Prideaux, &c. under that year.

(5) Elmacini Hist. Saracen. Lib. 1. p. 23, 24. Abul-Pharajii Hist. Dyn. 9. p. 112. Vers. Pocockii. Ockley's Hist. of the Saracens, Vol. 1. p. 344, &c.

Amrou the son of Aas, invaded and conquered Egypt, took Misrah (formerly Memphis, now Cairo) by storm, and also Alexandria, after they had besieged it fourteen months, and had lost twenty-three thousand men before it: and the rest of the kingdom soon followed the fortune of the capital cities, and submitted to the conqueror. There is one thing which was effected partly in the wars of the Romans and partly by the Saracens, and which no lover of learning can pass over without lamentation; and that is the destruction of the library at Alexandria. This famous library was founded by the first Ptolemies, and was so much inlarged and improved by their successors, that it (6) amounted to the number of seven hundred thousand volumes. It consisted (7) of two parts, one in that quarter of the city called Bruchion, containing four hundred thousand volumes, and the other within the Serapeum, containing three hundred thousand volumes. It happened that while Julius Cæsar was making war upon the inhabitants of Alexandria, (8) the library in Bruchion together with other buildings was burnt, and the (9) four hundred thousand volumes which were kept therein were all consumed. But this loss was in some measure repaired by the (1) Pergamean library, consisting of two hundred thousand volumes, which Anthony presented to Cleopatra, and by the addition of other books afterwards, so that (2) this latter library was reckoned as numerous and as famous as the other ever was: and it came to the same fatal end, this being also destroyed by fire. For (3)

(6) Ammianus Marcellinus, Lib. 22. Cap. 16. p. 343. Edit. Valesii 1681. ubi vide etiam quæ Valesius adnotavit. A. Gellius, Lib. 6. Cap. 17.

(7) Epiphanius de Mensuris et Ponderibus. Op. Vol. 2. p. 168. Edit. Petavii. Paris, 1622. Chrysostom. Advers. Judæos. Orat. 1. p. 595. Op. Vol. 1. Edit. Benedict.

(8) Plutarch in Julio Cæsare. Op. Vol. 1. p. 731. Edit. Paris 1624. Dion Cassius, Lib. 42. p. 202. Edit. Leunclav.

(9) Seneca de Tranquill. animi. Cap. 9. Op. Vol. 1. p. 362. Edit. Varior. Orosii Hist. Lib. 6. Cap. 15. p. 421. Edit. Havercamp.

(1) Plutarch in Antonio. Op. Vol. 1. p. 943. Edit. Paris 1624.

(2) Tertull. Apol. Cap. 18. p. 18. Edit. Rigaltii. 1675.

(3) Abul-Pharajii Hist. Dyn. 9. p. 114. Versico Pocockii. Ockley's Hist. of the Saracens. Vol. 1. p. 359, &c. Prideaux Connect. Part 2. B. 1. Anno 284. Ptolemy Philadelph. 1.

John the Grammarian, a famous philosopher of Alexandria, being in great favour with Amrou the Saracen general, asked of him the royal library. Amrou replied, that it was not in his power to give it him, without leave first obtained from the emperor of the faithful. Amrou therefore wrote to Omar, and acquainted him with John's petition, to which the caliph returned this answer; that if what was contained in those books was agreeable to the book of God or the Koran, the Koran was sufficient without them; but if it was repugnant to the Koran it was no ways useful; and therefore he commanded them to be destroyed. Amrou in obedience to the caliph's commands ordered them to be distributed among the baths of the city, and to be burnt in warming them, whereof there were no fewer at that time in Alexandria than four thousand: and yet there passed six months before the books were all consumed; which sufficiently evinces how great their number was, and what an inestimable loss not only Egypt, but all the learned world hath sustained. Egypt before this (4) was frequented by learned foreigners for the sake of this library, and produced several learned natives; but after this it became more and more *a base kingdom*, and sunk into greater ignorance and superstition. Mohammedism was now established there instead of Christianity, and the government of the Caliphs and Sultans continued till about the year of Christ 1250.

About that time it was that the (5) Mamalucs usurped the royal authority. The (6) word in general signifies a slave bought with money, but is appropriated

(4) Vide Amm. Marcellin. Lib. 22. Cap. 16. p. 344, &c. Edit. Valesii Paris 1681.

(5) Abul-Pharajii Hist. Dyn. 9. p. 325, &c. et Pocockii Supplementum, 7, 8, &c.

(6) Pocockii Supplem. p. 7. *Mamluc* autem (et cum de pluribus dicitur *Mamalic*) servum emptitium denotat, seu qui pretio numerato in domini possessionem cedit. [' But *Mamluc* (and in the plural *Mamalic*,) signifies a purchased slave, or one that becomes the property of a master by a price paid down.'] Herbelot. Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 545. *Mamlouk*. Ce mot dont le pluriel est Memalik, signifie en Arabe un esclave en general, mais en particulier, il a été appliqué a ces esclaves Turcs et Circassiens, &c. [' This word, of which the plural is Memalik, signifies in Arabic, a slave in general, but in particular it hath been applied to those Turkish and Circassian slaves, &c.']

in particular to those Turkish and Circassian slaves, whom the Sultans of Egypt bought very young, trained up in military exercises, and so made them their choicest officers and soldiers, and by them controlled their subjects, and subdued their enemies. These slaves perceiving how necessary and useful they were, grew at length insolent and audacious, slew their sovrans, and usurped the government to themselves. It is commonly said, that none but the sons of Christians were taken into this order; and there are other popular mistake about them, which are current among European authors, and which (7) Sir William Temple among others hath adopted and expressed, as he doth everything, in a lively and elegant manner. "The sons of the "deceased Sultans enjoyed the estates and riches left by "their fathers, but by the constitutions of the govern-"ment no son of a sultan was ever either to succeed, "or even to be elected Sultan: So that in this, con-"trary to all others ever known in the world, to be "born of a prince, was a certain and unalterable ex-"clusion from the kingdom; and none was ever to be "chosen Sultan, that had not been actually sold for a "slave, brought from Circassia, and trained up a "private soldier in the Mamaluc bands." But (8) they who are better versed in oriental authors, assure us that these are vulgar errors: and it appears from the (9) Arabian historians, that among the Mamalucs the son often succeeded the father in the kingdom. Their go-

(7) Sir Wm. Temple's Works, Vol. 1. Miscellanea. Part 2. Essay on Heroic Virtue, Sect. 5. p. 224.

(8) Pocockii Supplem. p. 31. Ex his quæ dicta sunt facile patet, in errore esse eos qui Mamlucos Christianorum tantummodo filios fuisse autumant; nec non in aliis errasse, quæ de successionis apud eos jure, eorumque disciplina tradunt. ['From what has been said, it is manifest that they are mistaken, who think that the Mamalucs are the sons of Christians only. They have also been mistaken in those assertions which they have made concerning the right of succession among them, and concerning their education.'] Herbelot Bib. Orient. p. 545. Il paroît par ce que l'on vient de voir, que les Mamelucs n'etoient pas fils de Chrétiens (si ce n'est peut être quelqu'un d'entr'eux) comme plusieurs de nos historiens l'ont avancé. ['It appears from what we have seen, that the Mamalucs were not the sons of Christians, (except perhaps some few among them,) as some of our historians have asserted.']

(9) Pocockii Supplem. p. 8, 10, 11, 18, 18, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25.

vernment is thus characterized by an (1) Arabic author quoted by Dr. Pococke; 'If you consider the whole 'time that they possessed the kingdom, especially that 'which was near the end, you will find it filled with 'wars, battles, injuries and rapines.' Their government (2) began with Sultan Ibeg in the 648th year of the Hegira and the year of Christ 1250; and continued through a (3) series of 24 Turkish and 23 Circassian Mamaluc Sultans, 275 Arabic and 267 Julian years; and (4) ended with Tumanbäi in the 923d year of the Hegira and the year of Christ 1517.

For at that time (5) Selim the ninth emperor of the Turks conquered the Mamalucs, hanged their last Sultan Tumanbäi before one of the gates of Cairo, put an end to their government; caused five hundred of the chiefest Egyptian families to be transported to Constantinople, as likewise a great number of Mamalucs wives and children, besides the Sultan's treasure and other immense riches; and annexed Egypt to the Othman empire, whereof it hath continued a province from that day to this. It is governed, as Prince Cantemir informs us, by a Turkish Basha (6) with twenty-four *begs* or princes under him, who are advanced from servitude to the administration of public affairs; a superstitious notion possessing the Egyptians, that it is decreed by fate, that captives shall reign, and the natives be subject to them. But it cannot well be called a superstitious notion, being a notion in all probability at first derived from some tradition of these prophecies, that *Egypt should be a base kingdom*, that *there should be no more a prince of the land of Egypt*, and that *Ham* in his posterity *should be a servant of servants unto his brethren.*

(1) Al. Jannabius in Pocockii Supplem. p. 31. Si totum quo regnum occuparunt tempus respicias, præsertim quod fini propius, reperies illud bellis, pugnis, injuriis et rapinis refertum. [Translated in the text.]

(2) Pocock. p. 8. Herbelot. p. 479.

(3) Pocock. p. 8—30. Herbelot. p. 545.

(4) Pocock. p. 30. Herbelot. p. 1031.

(5) Pocockii Supplem. p. 30, et 49. Herbelot. Bibli. Orient. p. 545, et 802, et 1031. Savage's Abridgment of Knolles and Rycaut's Turkish Hist. Vol. 1. p. 241.

(6) Prince Cantemir's Hist. of the Othman Empire, Part. 1. B. 3. p. 156. in the Notes.

By this deduction it appears, that the truth of Ezekiel's prediction is fully attested by the whole series of the history of Egypt from that time to the present. And who could pretend to say upon human conjecture, that so great a kingdom, so rich and fertil a country, should ever afterwards become tributary and subject to strangers? It is now a great deal above two thousand years since this prophecy was first delivered; and what likelihood or appearance was there, that the Egyptians should for so many ages bow under a foreign yoke, and never in all that time be able to recover their liberties, and have a prince of their own to reign over them? But as is the prophecy, so is the event. For not long afterwards Egypt was conquered by the Babylonians, and after the Babylonians (7) by the Persians; and after the Persians it became subject to the Macedonians, and after the Macedonians to the Romans, and after the Romans to the Saracens, and then to the Mamalucs; and is now a province of the Othman empire.

Thus we see how Nineveh, Babylon, Tyre and Egypt, the great adversaries and oppressors of the Jews, have been visited by divine vengeance for their enmity and cruelty to the people of God. Not that we must think God so partial as to punish these nations only for the sake of the Jews; they were guilty of other flagrant sins, for which the prophets denounced the divine judgments upon them. Egypt in particular was so severely threatened by the prophet Ezekiel, (Chap. xxix. xxx. xxxi. xxxii.) for her idolatry, her pride, and her wickedness. And the Egyptians have generally been more wretched, as they have generally been more wicked than other nations. Ancient authors describe them every where as superstitious and luxurious, as an (8) unwarlike and unserviceable people, as (9) a faithless

(7) See Prideaux Connect. Part i. B. i. Anno. 589. Zedekiah 10.

(8) Strabo. Lib. 17. p. 819. Edit. Paris. p. 1175. Edit. Amstel. 1707. Juvenal, Sat. XV. 126. imbelle et inutile vulgus. [' An unwarlike and useless crew.']

(9) Lucan V. 58. non fidæ gentis [' a faithless nation.'] Hirtius de Bell. Alex. and Cap. 16. fallacem gentem, semperque alia cogitantem, alia simulantem. [Translated in the text.]

and fallacious nation, always meaning one thing and pretending another, as (1) lovers of wine and strong drink, (2) as cruel in their anger, as (3) thieves and tolerating all kinds of theft, as (4) patient of tortures, and though put to the rack, yet choosing rather to die than to confess the truth. Modern authors paint them still in blacker colors. The famous (5) Thevenot is very strong and severe; "The people of Egypt (generally "speaking) are all swarthy, exceeding wicked, great "rogues, cowardly, lazy, hypocrites, buggerers, rob- "bers, treacherous, so very greedy of money, that they "will kill a man for a *maidin* or three halfpence." Bishop (6) Pococke's character of them is not much more favorable, though not so harsh and opprobrious; "The "natives of Egypt are now a slothful people, and delight "in sitting still, hearing tales, and indeed seem always "to have been more fit for the quiet life, than for any "active scenes.—They are also malicious and envious "to a great degree, which keeps them from uniting "and setting up for themselves; and though they are "very ignorant, yet they have a natural cunning and "artifice as well as falshood, and this makes them "always suspicious of travelers—The love of money is "so rooted in them, that nothing is to be done without "bribery—They think the greatest villanies are ex- "piated, when once they wash their hands and feet.—

(1) Athenæus ex Dione, Lib. 1. p. 34. Edit. Casaubon. φιλοινυς και φιλοποτας. vinosos ac bibaces. ['Lovers of wine, and fond of drinking.']

(2) Polyb. Lib. 15. p. 719. Edit Casaubon. Δεινη γαρ τις ἡ παρα τυς θυμυς ωμοτης γιγνεται των κατα την Αιγυπτον ανθρωπων. Est enim hoc Ægyptiis hominibus innatum, ut dum fervent ira mirum in modum sint crudeles. ['There is a dreadful cruelty in the anger of the Egyptians.']

(3) A. Gellius. Lib. II. Cap. 18. Ex Aristone. furta omnia fuisse licita et impunita. ['All sorts of theft were allowed, and suffered with impunity.'] Diod. Sic. Lib. I. p. 50. Edit. Steph. p. 72. Edit. Rhod.

(4) Ælian. Var. Hist. Lib. 7. Cap. 18. Αιγυπτιυς φασι δεινως εγχαρτερειν ταις βασανοις, και ὁτι θαττον τηθνηξεται ανηρ Αιγυπτιος, στρεβλυμενος η τ' αληθες ὁμολογησει. Ægyptios aiunt patientissime ferre tormenta; et citius mori hominem Ægyptium in quæstionibus, tortum examinatumque, quam veritatem prodere. ['It is said that the Egyptians endure torture with surprising patience; and that an Egyptian will rather die upon the the rack, than tell the truth.'] Ammianus Marcell. Lib. 22. Cap. 16. p. 347. Edit. Valesii. 1681.

(5) Thevenot in Harris's collection. Vol. 2. Chap. 8. p. 429.

(6) Pococke's Descriptiou of the East, Vol. 1. B. 4. Chap. 4. p. 177, &c.

"Their words pass for nothing, either in relations, pro-"mises, or professions of friendship, &c." Such men are evidently born not to command, but to serve and obey. They are altogether unworthy of liberty. Slavery is the fittest for them, as they are fittest for slavery. It is an excellent political aphorism of the wisest of kings, and all history will bear witness to the truth of it, that (Prov. xiv. 34.) *righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach* and ruin *to any people.*

XIII.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR'S DREAM OF THE GREAT EMPIRES.

WE have seen how it pleased God to reveal unto the prophets the future condition of several of the neighbouring countries; but there are other prophecies which extend to more remote nations, those nations especially and their transactions, wherein the church of God was particularly interested and concerned. It pleased God too to make these revelations, at a time when his people seemed in other respects abandoned and forsaken, and did not so much deserve, as stand in need of light and comfort. Isaiah and Jeremiah prophesied in the declension of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah. Ezekiel and Daniel prophesied during the time of the Babylonish captivity. And the prophecies of Daniel are so clear and exact, that in former as well as in later times it hath confidently been asserted, that they must have been written after the events, which they are pretended to foretel.

The famous Porphyry (who florished at the latter end of the third century after Christ) was I think the first who denied their genuinness and authority. He wrote

(1) fifteen books against the Christian religion, the twelfth of which was designed to depreciate the prophecies of Daniel; and therein he affirmed, that they were not composed by Daniel whose name they bore, but by some body who lived in Judea about the time of Antiochus Epiphanes; because all to that time contained true history, but all beyond that were manifestly false. This work of Porphyry together with the answers of Eusebius, Apollinarius, and Methodius, is wholly lost, excepting a few fragments and quotations, which are preserved in Jerome and others of the fathers. But as (2) Jerome rightly observes, this method of opposing the prophecies is the strongest testimony of their truth. For they were fulfilled with such exactness, that to infidels the prophets seemed not to have foretold things future, but to have related things past.

The celebrated author of *the Scheme of Literal Prophecy considered* hath followed the steps of Porphyry. He hath collected every thing, that in the course of his reading he thought could be turned to the disparagement of the book of Daniel. He had framed all that he had collected into eleven objections against it: and upon the whole concludes with much positiveness and assurance, that it must be written in the days of the Maccabees. But his (3) two learned opponents, both of the same name, have solidly and clearly refuted his eleven objections, and show them all to be mere cavils or direct falsities, groundless assertions, wrong quotations, or plain contradictions.

And indeed it may be proved, it hath been proved to a demonstration, as much as any thing of this nature can be proved to a demonstration, by all the characters and testimonies both internal and external, that the pro-

(1) Cave Hist. Lit. Vol. 1. p. 156. Hieron. Præf. in Danielem, Vol. 3. p. 1072. Edit. Benedict.

(2) Cujus impugnatio testimonium veritatis est. Tanta enim dictorum fides fuit, ut propheta incredulis hominibus non videatur futura dixisse, sed narrasse præterita. [Translated in the text.] Hieron. ibid.

(3) See Bp. Chandler's Vindication of his Defence of Christianity, and Mr. Sam. Chandler's Vindication of the Antiquity and Authority of Daniel's Prophecies, in answer to the Scheme of Literal Prophecy considered.

phecies of Daniel were written at the time that the scripture says they were written, and he *prospered* on account of these prophecies (Dan. vi. 28.) *in the reign of Darius the Mede, and in the reign of Cyrus the Persian:* that is between five and six hundred years before Christ. It is very capricious and unreasonable in unbelievers to object, as Collins doth, to the prophecies of Daniel, sometimes that they are too plain, and sometimes that they are too obscure. But it will entirely overthrow the notion of their being written in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes or of the Maccabees, and will establish the credit of Daniel as a prophet beyond all contradiction, if it can be proved that there are several prophecies of his which have been fulfilled since the days of Antiochus Epiphanes and the Maccabees as well as before, nay that there are prophecies of his which are fulfilling in the world at this very time.

Daniel's first prophecy, and the groundwork as I may say of all the rest, was his interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream. This monarch *in the second year of his reign* (Dan. ii. 1.) according to the Babylonian account, or the fourth according to the Jewish, that is in the second year of his reigning alone, or the fourth from his first reigning jointly with his father, having subdued all his enemies, and firmly established his throne, was thinking *upon his bed,* (ver. 29.) *what should come to pass hereafter,* what should be the future success of his family and kingdom, and whether any or what families and kingdoms might arise after his own; and as our waking thoughts usually give some tincture to our dreams, he dreamed of something to the same purpose, which astonished him, but which he could not rightly understand. The dream affected him strongly at the time; but awaking in confusion, he had but an imperfect remembrance of it, he could not recollect all the particulars. He called therefore (ver. 22.) for *the magicians and astrologers;* and as absurdly as imperiously demanded of them (ver. 5.) upon pain of death and destruction, *to make known unto him both the dream and the interpretation thereof.* They answered very reasonably, that no king had ever

required such a thing, that it transcended all the powers and faculties of man, God alone or only beings like God could disclose it; (ver. 10, 11.) *There is not a man upon earth that can show the king's matter; therefore there is no king, lord, nor ruler, that asked such things at any magician, astrologer, or Chaldæan: And it is a rare thing that the king requireth, and there is none other that can show it before the king, except the God, whose dwelling is not with flesh.* But the pride of absolute power cannot hear any reason, or bear any controll; and the king greatly incensed presently ordered all the magicians and wise men of Babylon to be destroyed; (ver. 12.) *For this cause the king was angry and very furious, and commanded to destroy all the wise-men of Babylon.*

Daniel and his fellows would have been involved in the same fate as the rest; but by their joint and earnest prayers to the God of heaven, *the secret was revealed unto Daniel in a night vision*; (ver. 19.) *and Daniel blessed the God of heaven.* Daniel thus instructed was desirous to save the lives of the wise-men of Babylon, who were unjustly condemned, as well as his own; and he *went unto Arioch, the captain of the king's guard, whom the king had ordered to destroy the wise-men of Babylon; he went* (ver. 25.) *and said thus unto him, Destroy not the wise-men of Babylon: bring me in before the king, and I will show unto the king the interpretation.* The captain of the guard immediately introduced him to the king, and said (ver. 25.) *I have found a man of the captives of Judah that will make known unto the king the interpretation. I have found a man,* said he, though Daniel had voluntarily offered himself; where Jerome remarks the manner of courtiers, *qui quum bona nunciant, sua videri volunt,* who when they relate good things, are willing to have them thought their own, and to have the merit ascribed to themselves. But Daniel was far from ascribing any merit to himself, and said very modestly, that *this secret* (ver. 27.) *which the wise-men, astrologers, magicians, and soothsayers could not show unto the king, was not revealed to him* (ver. 30.) *for any wisdom that he had more than others; but there is a*

God in heaven (ver. 28) *that revealeth secrets, and maketh known to the king Nebuchadnezzar, what shall be in the latter days;* or *what shall come to pass hereafter*, as it is expressed (ver. 29 & 45.) twice afterwards. The impious king, as (4) Jerome justly observes, had a prophetic dream, that the saint interpreting it, God might be glorified, and the captives and those who served God in captivity might receive great consolation. We read the same thing of Pharaoh, not that Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezzar deserved to see such things, but that Joseph and Daniel by interpreting them might be preferred to all others. And as St. Jerome farther observes, that Nebuchadnezzar might admire the grace of divine inspiration, Daniel not only told him what he saw in his dream, but also what he thought within himself before his dream. (ver. 29.) *As for thee, O king, thy thoughts came into thy mind, upon thy bed, what should come to pass hereafter: and he that revealeth secrets, maketh known unto thee what shall come to pass.*

Nebuchadnezzar's dream was of *a great image. This great image,* (ver. 31.) *whose brightness was excellent, stood before him, and the form thereof was terrible.* It appears from ancient coins and medals, that cities and people were often represented by figures of men and women. A great terrible human figure was therefore not an improper emblem of human power and dominion; and the various metals of which it was composed, not unfitly typify the various kingdoms which should arise. It consisted of four different metals, gold and silver and brass and iron mixed with clay; and these four metals, according to Daniel's own interpretation, mean so many kingdoms; and the order of their succession is clearly de-

(4) Hieron. Comment in ver. 1. Vidit rex impius somnium futurorum, ut interpretante Sancto quod viderat, Deus gloriticaretur; et captivorum Deoque in captivitate servientium sit grande solatium. Hoc idem in Pharaone legimus, non quod Pharao et Nabuchodonosor videre meruerint; sed quod Joseph et Daniel digni extiterint, qui interpretatione eorum omnibus præferrentur. Et postea in ver. 20—et ut Nabuchodonosor divinæ inspirationis miretur gratiam, non solum quid in somnio viderit, sed ante somnium quid tacitus cogitarit exponit. [Translated in the text.] Vol. 3. p. 1077, et 1080. Edit. Benedict.

noted by the order of the parts, the (5) head and higher parts signifying the earlier times, and the lower the parts the later the times. From hence, (6) as Calvin conceives, the poets drew their fables of the four ages of the world, the golden, the silver, the brazen, and the iron age; by which declension in this place it is signified, that the world always degenerates, and manners grow worse and worse. But Hesiod, who lived about 200 years before Daniel, mentioned the four ages of the world; so that this vision was formed agreeably to the common received notion, and the common received notion was not first propagated from hence. Whether this notion of the world's degenerating and growing worse and worse be true or not, these different kingdoms will naturally constitute the different heads of our discourse. And we shall follow the best commentators from Josephus down to Sir Isaac Newton, but we shall regard no commentator so much as the truth of history, the evidence of reason, and the analogy of scripture.

1. *This image's head was of fine gold,* (ver. 32.) which Daniel interprets (ver. 38.) *Thou art this head of gold,* thou, and thy family, and thy representatives. The *Babylonian* therefore was the first of these kingdoms; and it was fitly represented by *the head of fine gold,* on account of its great riches; and Babylon for the same reason was called by Isaiah (xiv. 4.) *the golden city.* The *Assyrian* is usually said to be the first of the four great empires; and the name may be allowed to pass, if it be not taken too strictly. For the Assyrian empire properly so called was dissolved before this time; the Babylonian was erected in its stead; but the Babylonians are sometimes called Assyrians in the best classic authors, Herodotus, Xenophon, Strabo, and others, as well as in the holy scriptures.

(5) Pars statuæ quò superior, eò priora, quò inferior, eò seriora tempora significat. Grot. in loc. ['The part of the statue which was higher, signifies what was first in the order of time, and the parts lower downwards, events that were to follow after.']

(6) Ex hoc Danielis loco hauserunt poetæ fabulas suas de quatuor sæculis, aureo, argenteo, æneo, ferreo; qua declinatione h. l. significatur, mundum semper decidere, et mores prolabi in deterius. [Translated in the text.] Calvin apud Poli Synops.

Daniel addressed Nebuchadnezzar, as if he was a very powerful king, and his empire very large and extensive (ver. 37.) *Thou, O king, art a king of kings.* He perhaps might think, like some of his predecessors, that his conquests were owing to his own fortitude and prudence; (Is. x. 13.) *By the strength of my hand I have done it, and by my wisdom, for I am prudent; and I have removed the bounds of the people, and have robbed their treasures, and I have put down the inhabitants like a valiant man.* But the prophet assures him that his success must be primarily imputed to the God of heaven; (ver. 37 and 38.) *For the God of heaven hath given thee a kingdom, power, and strength, and glory: And wheresoever the children of men dwell, the beasts of the field, and the fowls of the heaven hath he given into thine hand, and hath made thee ruler over them all.*

All the ancient eastern histories almost are lost: but there are some fragments even of heathen historians yet preserved, which speak of this mighty conqueror and his extended empire. Berosus in Josephus (7) saith, that he held in subjection Egypt, Syria, Phœnicia, Arabia, and by his exploits surpassed all the Chaldæans and Babylonians who reigned before him. Josephus (8) sub-

(7) Κρατησαι δε φησι τον Βαβυλωνιον, Αιγυπτου, Συριας, Φοινικης, Αραβιας, παντας δε ὑπερβαλλομενον ταις πραξεσι τους προ αυτου Χαλδαιων και Βαβυλωνιων βεβασιλευκοτας. Dicit insuper quod Babylonius tenuerit Ægyptum, Syriam, Phœniciam, Arabiam; quodque priores Chaldæorum, et Babyloniorum reges universos rebus *præclare* gestis superarit. ['He further saith, that this Babylonian held in subjection Egypt, Syria, Phœnicia and Arabia, and that by his exploits he far surpassed all the Chaldean and Babylonian kings who had gone before him.'] Apud Joseph. Contra Apion. Lib. 1. Sect. 19. p. 1342. Ed. Hudson.

(8) —— εν τοις αρχαιοις των Φοινικων συμφωνα τοις ὑπο Βηρωσσου λεγομενοις αναγεγραπται, περι του των Βαβυλωνιων Βασιλεως, ὁτι και την Συριαν και την Φοινικην ἁπασαν εκεινις κατεστρεψατο. περι τουτων γουν συμφωνει και Φιλοστρατος εν ταις ἱστοριαις,——και Μεγασθενης εν τη τεταρτη των Ινδικων, δι' ἡς αποφανειν πειραται τον προειρημενον Βασιλεα των Βαβυλωνιων, Ηρακλεους ανδρειᾳ και μεγεθει πραξεων διενηνοχεναι. καταστρεψασθαι γαρ αυτον φησι και Λιβυης την πολλην και Ιβηριαν.——in archivis Phœnicum scripta reperiuntur, quæ cum iis conveniunt a Beroso narratis de rege Babyloniorum. Syriam scilicet et universam Phœniciam illum subegisse. His sane adstipulatur Philostratus in historiis—et Megasthenes in quarto volumine rerum Indicarum, ubi ostendere contendit prædictum Babyloniorum regem et fortudine Herculem et magnitudine præstitisse, dicit enim eum Lybiæ bonam partem et Iberiam subjugasse. [Translated in the text.] Joseph. ibid. Sect. 20. p. 1343.

joins, that in the archives of the Phœnicians there are written things consonant to those which are said by Berosus concerning this king of the Babylonians, that he subdued Syria and all Phœnicia: With these likewise agrees Philostratus in his history, and Megasthenes in the fourth book of his Indian history, throughout which he attempts to show, that the forementioned king of the Babylonians exceeded Hercules in fortitude and greatness of exploits; for he affirms that he subdued the greatest part of Lybia and Spain. Strabo likewise from the same Megasthenes (9) asserts, that this king among the Chaldæans was more celebrated than Hercules, and that he proceeded as far as to the pillars of Hercules, and led his army out of Spain into Thrace and Pontus. But his empire, though of great extent, was yet of no long duration; for it (1) ended in his grandson Belshazzar, not 70 years after the delivery of this prophecy, nor above 23 years after the death of Nebuchadnezzar; which may be the reason of Daniel's speaking of him as the only king, *thou art this head of gold,* and *after thee shall arise, &c.* the rest being to be considered as nothing; nor do we read of any thing good or great that was performed by them.

II. *His breast and his arms of silver,* (ver. 32.) which Daniel interprets (ver. 39.) *And after thee shall arise another kingdom inferior to thee.* It is very well known, that the kingdom which arose after the Babylonian, was the Medo-Persian. The two hands and the shoulders, saith (2) Josephus, signify that the empire of the Baby-

(9) Ναυοκοδροσορον δε τον παρα Χαλδαιοις ευδοκιμησαντα Ηρακλεους μαλλον, και εως Στηλων ελασαι,——και εκ της Ιβηριας εις την Θρακην και τον Ποντον αναξαι την στρατιαν.——Navocodrosorum autem qui magis a Chaldæis probatur quam Hercules, usque ad Columnas pervenisse,——et exercitum ex Hispania in Thraciam Pontumque duxisse. [Translated in the text.] Strab. Lib. 15. p. 687. Edit. Paris. p. 1007. Edit. Amstel. 1707.

(1) See Usher's Annals. A. M. 3466. p. 100. Prideaux Connect. Part 1. B. 2. Anno 539. Belshazzar 17.

(2) αι δε δυο χειρες και οι ωμοι σημαινουσιν υπο δυο καταλυθησεσθαι βασιλεων την ηγεμονιαν υμων. duæ vero manus et humeri indicant imperium vestrum a duobus regibus eversum iri. ['But the two hands and the shoulders, shew that your kingdom will be dissolved by two kings.'] Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 10. Cap. 10. Sect. 4. p. 457. Edit. Hudson.

lonians sould be dissolved by two kings. The two kings were the kings of the Medes and Persians, whose powers were united under Cyrus, who was son of one of the kings and son-in-law of the other, and who besieged and took Babylon, put an end to that empire, and on its ruins erected the Medo-Persian, or the Persian, as it is more usually called, the Persians having soon gained the ascendency over the Medes. This empire is said to be *inferior* as being *less* than the former, *minus te* as the Vulgar Latin translates it, because neither Cyrus nor any of his successors ever carried their arms into Africa or Spain so far as Nebuchadnezzar is reported to have done: or rather *inferior* as being *worse* than the former, *deterius te* as Castalio translates it, for (3) Dr. Prideaux asserts, and I believe he may assert very truly, that the kings of Persia were "the worst race of men that ever "governed an empire." This empire from its first establishment by Cyrus to the death of the last king Darius Codomannus lasted not much above 200 years. Thus far all critics and commentators are agreed, that the two first kingdoms represented in Nebuchadnezzar's dream were the Babylonian and the Persian. As to the rest there hath been some controversy, but with little reason or foundation for it, only that some persons are troubled with the spirit of contradiction, and will dispute about the plainest points.

III. *His belly and his thighs of brass,* (ver. 32.) which Daniel interprets (ver. 39.) *And another third kingdom of brass, which shall bear rule over all the earth.* It is universally known, that Alexander the Great subverted the Persian empire. The kingdom therefore which succeeded to the Persian was the Macedonian; and this kingdom was fitly represented by *brass;* for the Greeks were famous for their brazen armour, their usual epithet being χαλκοχίτωνες Αχαιοι, *the brazen-coated Greeks,* Daniel's interpretation in (4) Josephus is, that another

(3) Prideaux Connect. Part 1. B. 2. Anno 559. Neriglissar. 1.

(4) την δε εκεινων ἑτερ@- τις απο δυσεως καθαιρησει χαλκου ημφιεσμεν@-. illorum autem imperium alius quidam ab occidente *veniens* destruet, ære *totus* obductus. [Translated in the text.] Joseph. Antiq. 10. Lib. 10. Cap. 10. Sect. 4. p. 457. Edit. Hudson.

coming from the west, completely armed in brass, shall destroy the empire of the Medes and Persians. This third kingdom is also said to *bear rule over all the earth* by a figure usual in almost all authors. Alexander himself (5) commanded, that he should be called *the king of all the world;* not that he really conquered, or near conquered the whole world, but he had considerable dominions in Europe, Asia, and Africa, that is in all the three parts of the world then known; and (6) Diodorus Siculus and other historians give an account of embassadors coming from almost all the world to congratulate him upon his success, or to submit to his empire: and then especially, as (7) Arrian remarks, did Alexander himself appear to himself and to those about him to be *master both of all the earth and sea.*

That this third kingdom therefore was the Macedonian, every one allows, and must allow: but then it is controverted, whether this kingdom ended in the person of Alexander, or was continued in his successors. St. Jerome saith (8) expresly, that the third kingdom signifies Alexander, and the kingdom of the Macedonians, and of the successors of Alexander. Which is rightly

(5) Accepto deinde imperio *regem se terrarum omnium ac mundi* appellari jussit. ['After he had received the empire, he gave orders that he should be called the king of all lands, and of the world.'] Justin. Lib. 12. Cap. 16. Sect. 9. Edit. Grævii.

(6) κατα δε τουτον τον χρονον, εξ απασης σχεδον της οικουμενης ηκον πρεσβεις. κ. τ. λ. quo tempore è dunctis fere orbis terrarum partibus legati ad Alexandrum venerunt, &c. [' At this time, ambassadors from almost every part of the world came to him, &c.'] Diod. Sic. Lib. 17. p. 622. Edit. Steph. p. 579. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod.

(7) και τοτε μαλιστα αυτον τε αυτω Αλεξανδρον και τοις αμφ' αυτον φαινεσθαι γης τε απασης και θαλασσης κυριον. ac tum primum Alexandrum sibi ipsi et qui cum eo erant *universæ terræ ac maris dominum* visum esse. [Translated in the text.] Arrian. de Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. Cap. 15. p. 294. Edit. Gronov.

(8) *Et regnum tertium aliud æneum, quod imperabit universæ terræ.* Alexandrum significat, et regnum Macedonum, successorumque Alexandri. Quod rectè æneum dicitur: Inter omnia enim metalla æs vocalius est, et tinuit clarius, et sonitus ejus longè latèque diffunditur, ut non solum famam et potentiam regni, sed et eloquentiam Græci sermonis ostenderet. [*And another third kingdom of brass, which shall bear rule over all the earth,* Dan. ii 39. ' This means Alexander, and the kingdom of the Macedonians, and of the successors of Alexander; which is said to be of brass. For among all metals, brass is more vocal, and tinkles louder, and its sound is diffused far and wide; so that it shewed not only the fame and power of the kingdom, but also the eloquence of the Greek tongue.'] Hieron. Vol. 3. p. 1081. Edit. Benedict.

named brazen, saith he: for among all metals brass is more vocal, and tinkles louder, and its sound is diffused far and wide, so that it portended not only the fame and power of the kingdom, but also the eloquence of the Greek language. Another commentator observes, (9) that this kingdom is compared to the belly, to denote the drunkenness of Alexander, and the profuse luxury of his successors, especially of the Ptolemies. It was a strange wild conceit in Grotius and others, to think that the kingdom of Alexander and of his successors made two different kingdoms. Grotius was indeed a very great man, and for the most part a very able and useful commentator: but the greatest and ablest men have their weaknesses, and none have betrayed more weakness, or committed more errors in chronology and history than he hath done, in explaining the prophecies. His notions here are as mean and contracted, as they are generous and inlarged in other instances.

The Seleucidæ who reigned in Syria, and the Lagidæ who reigned in Egypt, might be designed particularly by *the two thighs* of brass. Of all Alexander's successors they might be pointed out alone, because they alone had much connection with the Jewish church and nation. But their kingdom was no more a different kingdom from that of Alexander, than the parts differ from the whole. It was the same government still continued. They who governed were still Macedonians. The metal was the same, and the nation was the same: nor is the same nation ever represented by different metals, but the different metals always signify different nations. All ancient authors too speak of the kingdom of Alexander and of his successors as one and the same kingdom. The thing is implied in the very name by which they are usually called, *the successors of Alexander*. Alexander being dead, (1) saith Josephus, the empire was divided

(9) Confertur hoc ventri, ad notandum Alexandri crapulam, et successorum ejus præcipue Ptolemæorum effusam luxuriam. [Translated in the text.] Tirinus apud Poli Synops.

(1) Τελευτησαντος δε Αλεξανδρου, ἡ μεν αρχη εις τους διαδοχους εμερισθη. Alexandro autem vita defuncto, imperium inter successores divisum est. [Translated in the text.] Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 11. Cap. 8. Sect. 7. p. 505. Edit. Hudson.

among his successors; he doth not say that so many new empires were erected. After the death of Alexander, saith (2) Justin, the kingdoms of the east were divided among his successors: and he still denominates them Macedonians, and their empire the Macedonian; and reckons Alexander the same to the Macedonians, as Cyrus was to the Persians, and Romulus to the Romans. Grotius himself (3) acknowlegeth, that 'even now the Hebrews call those kingdoms by one name *the kingdom of the Grecians.* There is one insuperable objection against the kingdoms of the Lagidæ and of the Seleucidæ being a different kingdom from that of Alexander, because if they are not considered as parts of Alexander's dominion, they cannot be counted as one kingdom, they constitute properly two separate and distinct kingdoms.

IV. *His legs of iron, his feet part of iron, and part of clay,* (ver. 33.) which is thus interpred by Daniel (ver. 40, 41, 42, 43.) *And the fourth kingdom shall be strong as iron; forasmuch as iron breaketh in pieces, and subdueth all things; and as iron that breaketh all these, shall it break in pieces and bruise. And whereas thou sawest the feet and toes, part of potter's clay, and part of iron; the kingdom shall be divided, but there shall be in it of the strength of the iron, forasmuch as thou sawest the iron mixed with miry clay. And as the toes of the feet were*

(2) Post mortem Alexandri magni, dum inter successores ejus orientis regna dividerentur, &c. ['After the death of Alexander the Great, whilst his eastern kingdoms were divided among his successors,' &c.] Justin. Lib. 41. Cap. 4. Sect. 1. Speaking of the Parthians, Postremò *Macedonibus* triumphato oriente servierunt. ['The east being subdued, they last of all became subject to *the Macedonians.*'] Cap. 1. Sect. 5. Hi postea diductis *Macedonibus* in bellum civile, &c. ['They afterwards, *the Macedonians* being drawn into a civil war, &c.'] Cap. 4. Sect. 2. Administratio gentis post defectionem *Macedonici imperii* sub regibus fuit. ['The government of the nation, after the failure of *the Macedonian empire*, was monarchical.'] Cap. 2. Sect. 1. Sic Arsaces quæsito simul constitutoque regno, non minus memorabilis Parthis, *quam Persis Cyrus, Macedonibus Alexander, Romanis Romulus,* matura senectute decedit. ['Thus Arsaces having acquired and established his kingdom, and being no less renowned among the Parthians, *than Cyrus among the Persians, or Alexander among the Macedonians, or Romulus among the Romans,* died in an extreme old age.'] Cap. 5. Sect. 5. Edit. Grævii.

(3) Etiam nunc Hebræi ista imperia uno nomine appellant *regnum Græcorum.* [Translated in the text.] Grot. in Dan. VII. 7.

part of iron and part of clay; so the kingdom shall be partly strong and partly broken. And whereas thou sawest iron mixed with miry clay, they shall mingle themselves with the seed of men; but they shall not cleave one to another, even as iron is not mixed with clay. Here are farther proofs that the kingdoms of the Seleucidæ and of the Lagidæ cannot possibly be the fourth kingdom, because the marks and characters here given of the fourth kingdom by no means agree with either of those kingdoms. This fourth kingdom is described as stronger than the preceding. As iron breaketh and bruiseth all other metals, so this breaketh and subdueth all the former kingdoms: but the kingdoms of the Lagidæ and of the Seleucidæ were so far from being stronger, that they were much weaker, and less than any of the former kingdoms. This kingdom too is represented as divided into ten toes: but when or where were the kingdoms of the Lagidæ and of the Seleucidæ divided into so many parts? Besides, the metal here is different, and consequently the nation should be different from the preceding. The four different metals must signify four different nations: and as the gold signified the Babylonians, and the silver the Persians, and the brass the Macedonians; so the iron cannot signify the Macedonians again, but must necessarily denote some other nation: and we will venture to say that there is not a nation upon earth, to which this description is applicable, but the Romans.

The Romans succeeded next to the Macedonians, and therefore in course were next to be mentioned. The Roman empire was stronger and larger than any of the preceding. The Romans brake in pieces and subdued all the former kingdoms. As Josephus said, that the two arms of silver denoted the kings of the Medes and Persians; so we might say in like manner, that the two legs of iron signified the two Roman consuls. The iron was *mixed with miry clay*, and the Romans were defiled with a mixture of barbarous nations. The Roman empire was at length divided into ten lesser kingdoms, answering to the ten toes of the image, as we shall see hereafter. These kingdoms retained much of the old

Roman strength, and manifested it upon several occasions, so that *the kingdom was partly strong and partly broken.* They *mingled themselves with the seed of men*; they made marriages and alliances with one another, as they continue to do at this day: but no hearty union ensued; reasons of state are stronger than the ties of blood, and interest generally avails more than affinity. Some expound it of the secular and ecclesiastical powers, sometimes agreeing, sometimes clashing and interfering with each other, to the weakening of both, and endangering their breaking to pieces. Or if by *the seed of men* we are to understand the same as by *the daughters of men* (Gen. vi. 2.) those of a false and different religion, it may allude to the intermarriages, which several of the European nations, and particularly the French, Spanish and Portuguese, have made with the Indians Africans and Americans. Thus some of the ten kingdoms who call themselves *sons of God,* and the *only* sons of God by adoption, having mixed with *the seed of men,* with strangers to him; and yet no solid union ensues. Which observation was suggested to me by an unknown Correspondent, Mr. Hercules Younge, an ingenious Clergyman of Carrick in Ireland. The Roman empire therefore is represemted in a double state, first with the strength of iron, conquering all before it, *his legs of iron;* and then weakened and divided by the mixture of barbarous nations, *his feet part of iron, and part of clay.* It subdued Syria, and made the kingdom of the Seleucidæ a Roman province in the (4) year 65 before Christ; it subdued Egypt, and made the kingdom of the Lagidæ a Roman province in the year 30 before Christ: and in the fourth century after Christ, it began to be torn in pieces by the incursions of the barbarous nations.

St. Jerome lived to see the incursions of the barbarous nations: and his (5) comment is, that 'the fourth king-

(4) See Usher, Prideaux, and other chronologers.

(5) Regnum autem quartum, quod perspicuè pertinet ad Romanos, ferrum est quod comminuit et domat omnia: sed pedes ejus et digiti ex parte et ferrei, et ex parte sunt fictiles, quod hoc tempore manifestissimè comprobatur. Sicut enim in principio nihil Romano imperio fortius et durius

'dom, which plainly belongs to the Romans, is the iron 'that breaketh and subdueth all things; but his feet 'and toes are part of iron, and part of clay, which is 'most manifestly proved at this time: For as in the 'beginning nothing was stronger and harder than the 'Roman empire, so in the end of things nothing is 'weaker; since both in civil wars, and against divers 'nations, we want the assistance of other barbarous na-'tions.' He hath given the same interpretation in other parts of his works; and it seemeth that he hath been blamed for it, as a reflection upon the government; and thsrefore he maketh this apology for himself. 'If (6) 'saith he in explaining the statue and the difference of 'his feet and toes, I have interpreted the iron and clay 'of the Roman kingdom, which the scripture foretels 'should first be strong, and then weak, let them not 'impute it to me, but to the prophet: For we must 'not so flatter princes, as to neglect the verity of the 'holy scriptures, nor is a general disputation an injury 'to a single person.'

All ancient writers, both Jewish and Christian, agree with Jerome in explaining the fourth kingdom to be the Roman. Porphyry, who was a heathen, and any enemy to Christ, was the first who broached the other opinion; which, though it hath been maintained since by some of the moderns, is yet not only destitute of the authority, but is even contrary to the authority of both scripture and history. It is a just observation of (7) Mr. Mede, who was as able and consummate a judge as any in these matters: "The Roman empire to "be the fourth kingdom of Daniel, was believed by "the church of Israel both before and in our Saviour's

fuit; ita in fine rerum nihil imbecillius: quando et in bellis civilibus, et adversum diversas nationes, aliarum gentium barbararum indigemus auxilio. [Translated in the text.] Vol. 3. p. 1081. Edit. Benedict.

(6) Quod si in expositione statuæ pedumque ejus, et digitorum discrepantia, ferrum et testam super Romano regno interpretatus sum, quod primum forte, dein imbecillum scriptura portendit, non mihi imputent, sed prophetæ. Neque enim sic adulandum est principibus, ut sanctarum scripturarum veritas negligatur, nec generalis disputatio unius personæ injuria est. [Translated in the text.] Præf. in Isaiæ Cap. XXXVI. Vol. 3. p. 383. Edit. Benedict.

(7) Mede's Works, B. 4. Epist. 6. p. 736.

" time; received by the disciples of the apostles, and " the whole Christian church for the first 300 years, " without any known contradiction. And I confess, " having so good ground in scripture, it is with me " *tantum non articulus fidei, little less than an article* " *of faith.*"

V. Besides this image, Nebuchadnezzar saw (ver 34, 35.) *till that a stone was cut out without hands, which smote the image upon his feet that were of iron and clay, and brake them to pieces: Then was the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver and the gold broken to pieces together, and became like the chaff of the summer threshing-floors, and the wind carried them away, that no place was found for them; and the stone that smote the image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth:* Which is thus interpreted and explained by Daniel, (ver. 44, 45.) *And in the days of these kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed; and the kingdom shall not be left to other people, but it shall break in pieces, and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever: Forasmuch as thou sawest that the stone was cut out of the mountain without hands, and that it brake in pieces the iron, the brass, the clay, the silver and the gold.* They who maintain that the fourth kingdom was the kingdoms of the Seleucidæ and of the Lagidæ, do many of them, maintain likewise that this fifth kingdom was the Roman. But how can these characters agree with the Roman empire? How was the Roman empire *cut out of the mountain without hands,* or formed without human force and human policy? How was the Roman empire *of God's erection* more than any of the former kingdoms? How can the Roman empire which is *left to other people,* be said *not* to be *left to other people,* and how can that which *is broken in pieces,* be said to *stand for ever?*

This description can with propriety only be undersood, as the ancients understood it, of the kingdom of Christ. *And in the days of these kings,* that is the days of some of them. As *in the days when the judges ruled* (Ruth i. 1.) signifies *in the days when* some of *the judges ruled;* so *in*

the days of these kings signifies *in the days of* some of *these kingdoms:* and it must be during the days of the last of them, because they are reckoned *four* in succession, and consequently this must be the fifth kingdom. Accordingly the kingdom of Christ was set up during the days of the last of these kingdoms, that is the Romans. The *stone* was totally a different thing from the *image,* and the kingdom of Christ is totally different from the kingdoms of this world. *The stone was cut out of the mountain without hands,* as our heavenly body is said (2 Cor. v. 1.) to be *a building of God, an house not made with hands;* that is spiritual, as the phrase is used in other places, (Mark xiv. 58, compared with John ii. 21. See also Coloss. ii. 11.) This the (8) fathers generally apply to Christ himself, who was miraculously born of a virgin without the concurrence of a man: but it should rather be understood of the kingdom of Christ, which was formed out of the Roman empire, not by number of hands, or strength of armies, but without human means, and the virtue of second causes. This kingdom was *set up by the God of heaven;* and from hence the phrase of *the kingdom of heaven* came to signify the kingdom of the Messiah; and so it was used and understood by the Jews, and so it is applied by our Saviour in the New Testament. Other kingdoms were raised by human ambition and worldly power: but this was the work not of man but of God; this was truly as it is called *the kingdom of heaven,* and (John xviii. 36.) *a kingdom not of this world;* its laws, its powers, were all divine. This kingdom was *never to be destroyed,* as the Babylonian, the Persian, and the Macedonian empires have been, and in great measure also the Roman. This kingdom was to *break in pieces and consume all the kingdoms,* to spread and inlarge itself, so that it should comprehend within itself all the former kingdoms. This kingdom was *never to be destroyed,* as the Babylonian, the Persian, and the Macedonian empire have been, and

(8) Justin Martyr. cum Tryphone Dial. p. 301. Edit. Thirlbii. Irenæi Lib. 3. advers. Hæreses. Cap. 28. p. 258. Edit. Grabe. Hieron. Comment. in locum. Vol. 3. p. 1081. Edit. Benedict. &c. &c.

in great measure also the Roman. This kingdom was to *break in pieces and consume all the kingdoms,* to spread and inlarge itself, so that it should comprehend within itself all the former kingdoms. This kingdom was to *fill the whole earth,* to become universal, and to *stand for ever.*

As the fourth kingdom or the Roman empire was represented in a twofold state, first strong and florishing *with legs of iron,* and then weakened and divided *with feet and toes part of iron and part of clay;* so this fifth kingdom or the kingdom of Christ is described likewise in two states which (9) Mr. Mede rightly distinguisheth by the names of *regnum lapidis,* the kingdom of the stone, and *regnum montis,* the kingdom of the mountain; the first when *the stone was cut out of the mountain without hands,* the second when it became itself *a mountain and filled the whole earth. The stone was cut out of the mountain without hands,* the kingdom of Christ was first set up, while the Roman empire was in its full strength with *legs of iron.* The Roman empire was afterwards divided into ten lesser kingdoms, the remains of which are subsisting at present. The image is still standing upon his feet and toes of iron and clay; the kingdom of Christ is yet *a stone of stumbling, and a rock of offense:* but the stone will one day smite the image upon the feet and toes, and destroy it utterly, and will itself *become a great mountain,' and fill the whole earth:* or in other words (Rev. xi. 15.) *the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever.* We have therefore seen the kingdom of the *stone,* but we have not yet seen the kingdom of the mountain. Some parts of this prophecy still remain to be fulfilled: but the exact completion of the other parts will not suffer us to doubt of the accomplishment of the rest also in due season.

As we may presume to say that this is the only true and genuin interpretation of this passage, so likewise is it the most consonant to the sense of all ancient writers, both Jews and Christians; and its antiquity will be a farther recommendation and confirmation of its truth.

(9) Mede's Works, Book 4. Epist. 8. p. 743.

Jonathan Ben Uzziel, who made the Chaldee Targum or paraphrase upon the prophets, (1) lived a little before our Saviour. He made no Chaldee version of Daniel, the greater part of this book being originally written in Chaldee, or his version is lost: but however he applies the prophecies of Daniel in his interpretation of other prophets. Thus in his paraphrase upon Habakuk he speaketh of the four great kingdoms of the earth, (2) that they should in their turns be destroyed, and be succeeded by the kingdom of the Messiah. 'For the 'kingdom of Babylon shall not continue, nor exercise 'dominion over Israel; the kings of Media shall be 'slain, and the strong men of Greece shall not prosper; 'the Romans shall be blotted out, nor collect tribute 'from Jerusalem. Therefore because the sign and 'redemption which thou shalt accomplish for thy Christ 'and for the remnant of thy people, they who remain 'shall praise thee, &c.'

The sense of Josephus we will give in the words of Bishop (3) Chandler, together with his reflections upon it. "Josephus's exposition of this text is so full in the "point, that it ought not to be omitted. Josephus "was born while Jesus Christ lived, and was, as he (4) "says, skilful in the knowlege of the sacred books of "the prophets, being himself a priest, and the son of a "priest, and exercised this way. Hear then his sense of "that part of the dream we have been upon. Daniel "foretold, (5) that the second kingdom should be

(1) Waltoni Prolegom. XII. 10. Wolfii Biblioth. Heb. Lib. 6. Cap. 2. Sect. 2. Prideaux Connect. Part 2. B. 8. Anno 27. Herod 1.

(2) Habak. III. 17, 18. Etenim regnum Babel non permanebit, nec exercebit dominium in Israel; trucidabuntur reges Mediæ, et fortes Greciæ non prosperabuntur; delebuntur Romani, nec colligent tributum de Jerusalem. Itaque propter signum et redemptionem quæ facies Christo tuo et reliquiis populi tui, qui remanebunt confitebuntur dicendo, &c. [Translated in the text.]

(3) Defense of Christianity, Chap. 2. Sect. 2. p. 104. &c. 3d. Edit.

(4) Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 3. Cap. 7. Sect. 3. p. 1143. Edit. Hudson.

(5) την δε εκεινων ἑτερος τις απο δυσεως καθαιρησει χαλκον ημφιεσμενος, και ταυτην αλλη παυσει την ισχυν ὁμοια σιδηρω, και κρατησει δε εις ἁπασαν δια την τȣ σιδηρȣ φυσιν, ειναι γαρ αυτην στερρότεραν της τȣ χρυσȣ και τȣ αργυρȣ και τȣ χαλκȣ. εδηλωσε δε και περι τȣ λιθȣ Δανιηλος τῳ βασιλει αλλ' εμοι μεν ȣκ εδοξε τȣτο ἱστορειν, τα παρελθοντα και τα γεγενημενα συγγραφειν, ȣ τα μελλοντα οφειλοντι. ει δε τις της αληθειας γλιχομενος ȣ περνϊσταται πολυπραγμο-

" taken out of the way, by one that should come from " the west clothed with brazen arms: and also that the " strength of this (empire) another should put an end " to, that should be like to iron, which from the nature " of the mineral is superior to gold, silver, and brass. " Daniel added his interpretation of the stone; but I " don't think fit to relate that; my business being only to " give a history *of past and newly done things*, not to " write *of future things*. Yet if there be any one that " is eager after truth, and will not give over inquiring, in " order to learn these obscure events that are to come, let " him carefully read the book itself, which he will " find among our sacred (or canonical) books. Upon " this passage observe, that the fourth empire is the " Roman in his judgment; because the third king- " dom, which he begins in Alexander, was destroyed, " not by the Greek generals, but by the Romans. " Again, the fourth empire he reckons to be past, i. e. " to be set up in the room of the Greek, and therefore " he gives an historical explication of that, among the " past events. But the kingdom of the *stone* being " future, he refuses to touch on that. But he had a " better reason than he gave: he feared to offend " the power in being, whose protection he needed, and " which, he foresaw, must be offended, if he should " publish the hope of his captive nation, one day to " subdue their conquerors. We see however, in his " excuse for stopping short, his sense of the prophecy " that is yet unfulfilled, viz. that the kingdom of the " God of heaven should break in pieces the Roman; " and which he must consequently suppose will continue,

νειν, ὡς και περι των αδηλων ει γενησεται βελεσθαι μαθειν, σπευδασω τα βιβλιον αναγνωναι τω Δανιηλ· ευρησει δε τελο εν τοις ἱεροις γραμμασιν. illorum autem imperium alius quidam ab occidente *veniens* destruet, ære *totus* obductus; atque hujus vires alia vis debellabit ferro similis, easque in universum imperio premet propter ferri naturam, quod ea sit auro et argento et ære validior. Quin et Danielus regi ostendit omnia de saxo: sed mihi isto narrare non libuit, cui id negotii datum est, ut præterita non futura litteris consignarem. Si quis autem veritatis avidus nolit ab iis paulo curiosius inquirendis desistere, ut qui de incertis, an futura sint, scire desiderat, det operam ut Danieli librum perlegat, quem in sacrorum librorum codice inveniet. [Translated in the text.] Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 10. Cap. 10. Sect. 4. p. 457. Edit. Hudson.

" till it gives place to the everlasting kingdom of the " Messiah. And in this belief Christ confirmed the " Jews, at the time he warned them of their own ex- " cision. *The kingdom of God,* saith he, (Matt. xxii. " 43, 44.) or all the advantages of the Messiah's " coming, *shall be taken from you and given to a na-* " *tion bringing forth the fruits thereof. For whoso-* " *ever shall fall against this stone* (as one of your " prophets predicted, Is. viii. 14, 15.) *shall be broken :* " *but,* I add from another prophet (Dan. ii. 34, 35.) " something more grievous for those that shall break " you, *on whomsoever it shall fall it will grind him to* " *powder.* The kingdom of the *stone* shall bruise the " Jews that stumbled at Christ's first coming; but the " kingdom of the *mountain,* when manifested, shall beat " the feet of the monarchical statue to dust, and leave " no remains of the fourth monarchy in its last and de- " generate state."

The same notion was prevalent among the ancient Christians, as well as among the Jews. St. Jerome and all the fathers, who have occasion to comment upon this passage, give the same interpretation: but we love not to multiply quotations; it will be sufficient to produce the testimonies of that eloquent preacher St. Chrysostom, and of that elegant historian Sulpicius Severus. St. Chrysostom is too copious to be quoted at large; we must content ourselves with some extracts out of him. ' For what reason, (6) saith he, doth he call Nebu-

(6) τινος δ' ενεκεν την αυτου Βασιλειαν καλει χρυσην, την δε των Περσων αργυραν, και την των Μακεδονων χαλκην, και την των Ρωμαιων σιδηραν και οστρακινην; ορα καλαλληλως τας υλας· ο γαρ χρυσος πλειω μεν εστι εμφανιζομενον ——ουτω και εκεινη η βασιλεια——κεφαλην δε εσχεν, επειδη πρωτη εφανη· η δε Περσων ουκ ητος ευπορος ωσπερ αν ουδε Μακεδονων, η δε Ρωμαιων χρησιμωτερα τε και ισχυροτερα, υστερα μεν τοις χρονοις, διο και ποδων ταξιν εσχεν· εστι δε αυτης τα μεν ασθενη, τα δε ισχυροτερα. Quare autem regnum Nabuchodonosoris vocat aureum, Persarum autem argenteum, Macedonum æreum, Romanorum ferreum atque testaceum? Vide dispositas convenienter materias. Nam aurum divitias quidem repræsentat——Sic et regnum Babylonium——Caput autem occupat: quia regnum illud fuit primum. Persarum vero imperium non adeo opulentum fuit: sicut nec Macedonum: ac Romanorum utilius ac fortius; tempore quidem posterius, quare et pedum locum obtinet. Porro sunt hujus regni quædam infirma, et quædam robustiora.——και εν ταις ημεραις των βασιλεων εκεινων αναστησει ο θεος του ουρανου βασιλειαν, ητις εις τους αιωνας ου διαφθαρησε-

'chadnezzar's kingdom of gold, and that of the Per-
'sians of silver, and that of the Macedonians of brass,
'and that of the Romans of iron and clay? See the
'materials rightly disposed; for gold represents riches,
'&c.; so likewise was that kingdom——and it occupies
'the head, because it appeared the first. But that of
'the Persians was not so wealthy, as neither was that of
'the Macedonians: but that of the Romans was both
'more useful and stronger, and later in time, wherefore
'it occupies the place of the feet. But some parts of
'this kingdom are weak, and others are stronger.—
'*And in the days of those kings shall the God of heaven*
'*set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed; and*
'*the kingdom shall not be left to other people, but it shall*
'*break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and it*
'*shall stand for ever.* Bring hither to me the Jews.
'What will they say concerning this prophecy? for it is
'by no means right to say of any human kingdom, that
'it shall be everlasting or without end.—*In the days of*
'*those kings*, to wit the Romans. But if they say how
'can he break in pieces the gold, the kingdom of the Ba-
'bylonians destroyed long ago? how the silver, the king-
'dom of the Persians? how the brass, the kingdom of
'the Macedonians? for these are past long ago, and are
'come to an end——how can he destroy the kingdoms

ται· και ἡ βασιλεια αυτȣ λαῳ ἑτερῳ ȣχ ὑποληφθησεται, λεπτυνει και λικμησει πασας τας βασιλειας· και αυτη αναςησεται εις τȣς αιωνας. αγε μοι τȣς Ιȣδαιȣς ενταυθα. τι αν ειποιεν περι της προφητειας ταυτης; ȣ γαρ δηπȣ περι ανθρωπινης ταυτα θεμις ειπειν, ὁτι απειρος εςαι ἡ βασιλεια———εν ταις ἡμεραις των βασιλεων εκεινων, των Ρωμαιων δηλονοτι. αλλως δε ει λεγοιεν, και πως των χρυσον συνετριψε, την Βαβυλωνιων βασιλειαν παλαι κατασκευασθεισαν [κατασκεδασθεισαν]; πως δε τον αργυρον, την Περσων; πως δε τον χαλκον, την Μακεδονων; ταυτα γαρ παλαι εγενετο, και τελος ελαβεν.———πως τας ηδη σβεσθεισας βασιλειας καθαιρει; αλλα το καθαιρειν ἑτερας εν αἱς αἱ τοιαυται εισιν, εικοτως εμποιει. *Et in diebus regum illorum suscitabit Deus cœli regnum, quod in sæcula non corrumpetur: et regnum ejus populo alteri non relinquetur: comminuet et ventilabit universa regna: et ipsum exsurget in sæcula.* Adducito mihi huc Judæos. Quid de hac prophetia dicturi sunt? Neque enim profecto de humano regno hæc fas est dicere; scilicet regnum infinitum fore.———*In diebus regum illorum:* Romanorum videlicet. Quod si dicant: quomodo aurum contererè potuit, nempe regnum Babyloniorum, quod jam olim erat destructum? Quomodo etiam argentum, nimirum regnum Persarum? Et quomodo æs, scilicet regnum Macedonum? Hæc enim quondam fuerant, et finem acceperant.———Quomodo jam extincta regna destruat? Quia nimirum destruit alia regna, in quibus hæc continentur. [Translated in the text.] S. Jo. Chrysost. in Danielem. p. 214. et 216. Tom 6. Edit. Benedict.

'which are already destroyed? But to destroy others in 'which these are included, amounts to the same thing.'

Sulpicius Severus having given an account of Nebuchadnezzar's dream, and of all the particulars relating to it, subjoins (7) an exposition of it, agreeable to Daniel's interpretation. 'The image is an emblem of 'the world. The golden head is the empire of the 'Chaldæans: forasmuch as that was the first and most 'wealthy. The breast and arms of silver signify the 'second kingdom: For Cyrus, the Chaldæans and 'Medes being overcome, transferred the empire to the 'Persians. In the brazen belly the third kingdom is 'declared to be portended; and that we see fulfilled: 'Forasmuch as the empire taken from the Persians 'Alexander vindicated to Macedonia. The iron legs 'are the fourth kingdom: and that is the Roman, the 'strongest of all the kingdoms before it. But the feet 'part of iron and part of clay, prefigure the Roman 'empire to be so divided as that it should never unite 'again: which is equally fulfilled—Forasmuch as the 'Roman territory is occupied by foreign nations or 'rebels:——and we see (saith he, and he lived at the 'beginning of the (8) fifth century) barbarous nations 'mixed with our armies, cities, and provinces—— 'But in the stone cut out without hands, which brake

(7) Igitur secundum prophetæ interpretationem imago visa, figuram mundi gerit. Caput aureum, Chaldæorum imperium est: siquidem id primum, et opulentissimum fuisse accepimus. Pectus et brachia argentea secundum regnum annunciant. Cyrus enim, victis Chaldæis atque Medis, imperium ad Persas contulit. In ventre æreo, tertium regnum portendi pronunciatur: idque impletum videmus. Siquidem Alexander ereptum Persis imperium Macedoniæ vindicavit. Crura ferrea, imperium quartum: idque Romanum intelligitur, omnium ante regnorum validissimum. Pedes vero partim ferrei, partim fictiles, dividendum esse Romanum regnum, ita ut nunquam inter coëat, præfigurant: quod æque impletum est,——Siquidem Romanum solum ab exteris gentibus aut rebellibus occupatum;——exercitibusque nostris, urbibus atque provinciis permixtas barbarus nationes —videmus.——In lapide vero sine manibus abscisso, qui aurum, argentum, æs, et ferrum testamque comminuit, Christi figuram esse. Is enim mundum istum, in quo sunt gegna terrarum, in nihilum rediget, regnumque aliud incorruptum confirmabit. De quo uno adhuc quorundam fides in ambiguo est, non credendum de futuris, cum de præteritis convincantur. [Translated in the text.] Sulpicii Sacr. Hist. Lib. 2. p. 66, 67. Edit. Elzevir. 1656.

(8) Cave, Hist. Litt. Vol. I. p. 374.

'in pieces the gold, the silver, the brass, the iron, and 'the clay, we have a figure of Christ. For he shall 'reduce this world, in which are the kingdoms of the 'earth to nothing, and shall establish another everlast- 'ing kingdom. Of which alone the faith of some is 'still dubious, and they will not credit future things, 'when they are convinced of the past.'

Nay Grotius himself, the great patron of the other opinion, that the fifth kingdom is the Roman empire, commenting upon those words (ver. 45.) *it brake in pieces the iron, the brass, the clay, the silver and the gold*, cannot but acknowlege that (9) the sublimer sense is, that Christ will put an end to all earthly empires, according to 1 Corinth. xv. 24. that *he shall put down all rule, and all authority, and power.*

Thus it pleased God to reveal unto Daniel, and by Daniel unto Nebuchadnezzar, the greatest and most signal events of this world. As Daniel said unto Nebuchadnezzar (ver. 45.) *The great God hath made known to the king what shall come to pass hereafter; and the dream is certain, and the interpretation thereof is sure.* The king hearing his dream related with such exactness, might be better assured of the truth of the interpretation, and of the great events which would follow. And from hence we are enabled in some measure to account for Nebuchadnezzar's prophesying a little before he died. Abydenus wrote the history of the Assyrians. It is not well known in what age he lived, and his history is lost: but there is a fragment of it preserved by Eusebius, wherein it is asserted upon the authority of Megasthenes, that Nebuchadnezzar was divinely inspired and prophesied in (1) this manner: 'I Nebuchadnezzar foretel unto you,

(9) Sensus sublimior, Christum finem impositurum omnibus imperiis terrestribus, 1 Cor. xv. 24. [Translated in the text.] Grot in locum.

(1) ἐγω Ναβυχοδροσυρ@-, ω Βαβυλωνιοι, την μελλουσαν ὑμιν προαγγελλω συμφορην, την ὁ τε Βηλ@· ἐμ@· προγονος, ἡ τε βασιλεια Βηλτις αποτρεψαι μοιρας πεισαι ασθενησιν. ἡξει Περσης ἡμιον@-, τοισιν ὑμεἑροισι δαιμοσι χρεωμενος συμμαχοισιν, ἑπαξει δε δηλοσυνην. ὁ δε Ζυναιλιος ἐσαι Μηδης, το Ασσυριον αυχημα. Ego Nabuchodrosorus, O Babylonii, imminentem vobis calamitatem prænuncio, quam Parcis uti averruncent, nec Belus generis nostri auctor, nec regina Beltis persuadere unquam poterunt. Persicus veniet mulus, qui

'O Babylonians, an imminent calamity, which neither 'Belús my progenitor, nor queen Beltis can persuade 'the fates to avert: A Persian mule shall come assisted 'by your demons, and impose servitude upon you; 'whose coadjutor shall be a Mede, the boast of the As-'syrians.' And soon after he died. Herodotus, who was a much older historian than Megasthenes, relates that a Delphic oracle was given to Crœsus king of Lydia, that (2) when a mule should rule over the Medes, then he should not be ashamed to fly away. Which oracle was afterwards thus interpreted by the Pythian priestess; Cyrus (3) was this mule: for he was born of parents of different nations, the mother the better, and the father the meaner; for she was a Mede, and the daughter of the king of the Medes, but he was a Persian and subject to the Medes. If any credit is to be given to these stories, if any such prophecy was uttered by Nebuchadnezzar a little before his death, if any such oracle was received and believed of Cyrus and the Persians subduing Asia, the notion, the tradition may very well be supposed to have been derived originally from this prophecy of Daniel, which being so solemnly delivered to a great king, and published in Chaldee, might come to be generally known in the east; and the event soon afterwards evinced the truth of it.

It was from this prophecy too, that the distinction first arose of the four great empires of the world, which hath

dæmonum vestrorum usus auxilio, durum cervicibus vestris jugum imponet. Atque hujus cladis auctor etiam Medus quidam erit, quo ante Assyrii magnopere gloriabantur. [Translated in the Text.] Euseb. Præp. Evang. Lib. 9. Cap. 41. p. 456. Edit. Vigeri.

(2) Ἀλλ' ὁταν ἡμιονος βασιλευς Μηδοισι γενηται.
Και τοῖς κ. τ. λ.
Regis apud Medos mulo jam sede potito,
Lyde fugam, &c.
[But when a mule shall hold o'er Medes the sway,
Then, &c.]
Herod. Lib. 1. Cap. 55. p. 21. Edit. Gale.

(3) ην γαρ δη ὁ Κυρος ὁυτος ἡμιονος· εκ γαρ δυοιν ὁμοεθνεων εγεγονεε, μητρος ἀμεινονος, πατρος δε υποδεεστερου. ἡ μεν γαρ ην Μηδις, και Ἀστυαγεος θυγατηρ του Μηδων βασιλεως· ὁ δε, Περσης τε ην, και ἀρχομενος ὑπ' ἑκεινοισι. Nam mulus hic, Cyrus erat: quippe qui duobus diversarum gentium parentibus ortus sit, generosiore matre quam patre. Nam illa quidem, Meda erat, Astyagis Medorum regis filia: hic autem, Persa, et Medis subjectus. [Translated in the text.] Herod. Ibid. Cap. 19. p. 39.

been followed by most historians and chronologers in their distribution of times. These four empires, as they are the subject of this prophecy are likewise the subject of the most celebrated pens both in former and in later ages. The histories of these empires are the best writ, and the most read of any; they are the study of the learned, and the amusement of the polite; they are of use both in schools and in senates; we learn them when we are young, and we forget them not when we are old; from hence examples, instructions, laws and politics are derived for all ages; and very little in comparison is known of other times, or of other nations. Not but there have been empires as great or greater than some of these, as those of the Tartars for instance, and of the Saracens, and of the Turks; and you may think perhaps, that they are as well deserving of a place in this succession of kingdoms, and were equally worthy to be made the objects of prophecy, being as eminent for the wisdom of their constitutions, the extent of their dominions, and the length of their duration. But these four empires had a particular relation to the church and people of God, who were subject to each of them in their turns. They were therefore particularly predicted; and we have in them, without the intermixture of others, a line of prophecy (as I may say) extending from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar to the full and complete establishment of the kingdom of the Messiah. He who is arbiter of kingdoms, and governor of the universe, can reveal as much of their future revolutions as he pleaseth: and he hath revealed enough to manifest his providence, and to confirm the truth of religion. What Daniel said upon the first discovery of these things, well may we say after the completion of so many particulars: (ver. 20, 21, 22.) *Blessed be the name of God for ever and ever! for wisdom and might are his. And he changeth the times and the seasons: he removeth kings, and setteth up kings: he giveth wisdom unto the wise, and knowlege to them that know understanding. He revealeth the deep and secret things: he knoweth what is in the darkness, and the light dwelleth with him.*

XIV.

DANIEL'S VISION OF THE SAME.

WHAT was revealed unto Nebuchadnezzar in the second year of his reign concerning the four great empires of the world, was again revealed unto Daniel (Chap. vii.) with some inlargements and additions in the first year of Belshazzar, that is about eight and forty years afterwards. But there is this difference, that what was exhibited to Nebuchadnezzar in the form of a great image, was represented to Daniel in the shape of great wild beasts. The reason of which is ingeniously assigned by Grotius, and after him by (1) by Mr. Lowth, "that this image "appeared with a glorious lustre in the imagination of "Nebuchadnezzar, whose mind was wholly taken up with "admiration of worldly pomp and splendor; whereas the "same monarchies were represented to Daniel under the "shape of fierce and wild beasts, as being the great sup-"porters of idolatry and tyranny in the world."

Daniel dreamed, and the angel interpreted. *These great beasts, which are four,* (says the angel, ver. 17.) *are four kings,* or kingdoms, as it is translated in the vulgar Latin, and the Greek, and Arabic versions, and as the angel himself explains it, (ver. 23.) *The fourth beast shall be the fourth kingdom upon earth.* They arise out of a stormy and tempestuous sea, that is out of the wars and commotions of the world: and they are called *great* in comparison of other lesser states and kingdoms, as they are denominated *beasts* for their tyrannical and cruel oppressions and depredations. These beasts are indeed monstrous productions; a lion with eagle's wings, a bear with three ribs in the mouth of it, a leopard with four wings and four heads, and a beast with ten horns: but such emblems and hieroglyphics were usual among

(1) Lowth's Comment. on Chap. II. 31. Grotius ibid.

the eastern nations; a winged lion and such fictitious animals may still be seen in the (2) ruins of Persepolis; horns are attributed to beasts, which naturally have none; and these figures were, as I may say, the arms and symbols of such and such nations, and are no stranger than several which are still used in modern heraldry. We will consider them in order, and take notice only of such interpretations as carry in them something probable and plausible, to the end that we may establish what is more certain. To recite all the various opinions of commentators would be but heaping up a monument of the absurdities of former ages. We may collect something from one, and something from another, and yet in all respects perfectly agree with none.

I. The first kingdom is represented by a beast, (ver. 4.) that was *like a lion, and had eagle's wings: and I beheld till the wings thereof were pluckt, and it was lifted up from the earth, and made stand upon the feet as a man, and a man's heart was given to it.* This is the kingdom of the Babylonians: and the king of Babylon is in like manner compared to a lion by Jeremiah, (iv. 7.) *The lion is come up from his thicket, and the destroyer of the Gentiles is on his way:* and he is said to fly as an eagle, (xlviii. 40.) *Behold, he shall fly as an eagle, and shall spread his wings over Moab;* and he is also compared to an eagle by Ezekiel, (xvii. 3, et 12.) *Thus saith the Lord God, A great eagle with great wings, &c.* The lion is esteemed the king of beasts, and the eagle the king of birds; and therefore the kingdom of Babylon, which is described as the first and noblest kingdom, and was the kingdom then in being, is said to partake of the nature of both. Instead of a *lion,* the Vulgar Latin, and the Greek, and Arabic versions have a *lioness;* and it is (3) Jerome's observation, that the kingdom of

(2) See Sir John Chardin and other travelers.

(3) Regnum Babylonium, propter sævitiam et crudelitatem,——non leo, sed læana appellatur. Aiunt enim hi qui de bestiarum scripsere naturis leænas esse ferociores, &c. Hieron. Comment. in locum. ['The Babylonian kingdom, on account of its ferocity and cruelty,—is not called a lion, but a lioness. For they who have written on the nature of beasts, tell us that the lioness is the more ferocious,' &c.] Vol. 3. p. 1099. Edit. Benedict.

Babylon for its cruelty is compared not to a lion, but to a lioness, which naturalists say is the fiercer of the two.

The *eagle's wings* denote its swiftness and rapidity: and the conquests of Babylon were very rapid, that empire being advanced to the highth within a few years by a single person, by the conduct and arms of Nebuchadnezzar. It is farther said, *the wings thereof were pluckt, and it was lifted up from the earth,* that is, it was taken away from the earth, as it is commonly understood, and as it is translated in almost all the (4) ancient versions: or it may be rendered thus, *the wings thereof were pluckt* wherewith *it was lifted up from the earth,* as (5) Grotius explains it, and as we read it in the margin of our bibles, the conjunction copulative sometimes supplying the place of a relative. Its wings were beginning to be pluckt at the time of the delivery of this prophecy; for at this time the Medes and Persians were incroaching upon it; Belshazzar the king now reigning was the last of his race; and in the (6) seventeenth year of his reign Babylon was taken, and the kingdom was transferred to the Medes and Persians.

And it was made stand upon the feet as a man, and a man's heart was given to it. It is not easy to say what is the precise meaning of this passage; unless it be an allusion to the case of Nebuchadnezzar, when in his madness (iv. 6.) *a beast's heart was given unto him,* and after he was restored to his senses, *a man's heart was given to him* again. What appears most probable is,

(4) *Et sublata est,* inquit, *de terra;* subverso videlicit impio [imperio] Chaldæorum. ['*And* (he says) *it was lifted up from the earth,* by the subversion of the impious [empire] of the Chaldeans.'] Hieron. ibid. και εξηρθη απο της γης. ['And it was taken away from the earth.'] Sept. Videbam evulsas esse alas ejus, et ab humo sublatam. ['I beheld its wings plucked, and it was lifted up from the ground.'] Syriac. et egressa est de terra. ['And it went away from the earth.'] Arab.

(5) *Et sublata est de terra.* Verte: *per quas efferebatur supra terram.* Sæpe enim Chaldæis, ut et Hebræis, copula vim habet relativa. ['*And it was lifted up from the earth;* render the passage, *by which it was lifted above the earth.* For frequently in the Chaldee, as in the Hebrew language, the copulative conjunction has the power of a relative.'] Grot. in locum.

(6) Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 10. Cap. 11. Sect. 4. p. 462. Edit. Hudson. Usher. Prideaux, and other chronologers.

that after the Babylonian empire was subverted, the people became more humane and gentle; their minds were humbled with their fortune; and they who vaunted as if they had been gods, now felt themselves to be but men. They were brought to such a sense as the Psalmist wisheth such persons to have, (Psal. ix. 20.) *Put them in fear, O Lord; that the nations may know themselves to be but men.*

II. The second kingdom is represented (ver. 5.) by *another beast like to a bear, and it raised up itself on one side, and it had three ribs in the mouth of it between the teeth of it: and they said thus unto it, Arise, devour much flesh.* This is the kingdom of the Medes and Persians: and for their cruelty and greediness after blood they are compared to a *bear,* which is a most voracious and cruel animal. The very learned (7) Bochart recounts several particulars, wherein the Persians resembled bears; but the chief likeness consisted in what I have mentioned; and this likeness was principally intended by the prophet, as I think we may infer from the words of the text itself; *Arise, devour much flesh.* A bear, saith Aristotle, is an all-devouring animal: and so, saith (8) Grotius, the Medo-Persians were great robbers and spoilers according to Jeremiah (li. 48, 56.)

And it raised up itself on one side, or as it is in the margin, *it raised up one dominion;* for the Persians were subject to the Medes at the conquest of Babylon, but soon after raised up themselves above them. *And it had three ribs in the mouth of it between the teeth of it:* these (9) Jerome understands of the three kingdoms of the Babylonians, Medes, and Persians, which were reduced into

(7) Bocharti Hierozoic. Pars prior. Lib. 3. Cap. 9. Col. 816, &c.

(8) Ursus ζωον παμφαγον [animal omnia vorans] ait Aristotles VIII. 5. Sic Medopersæ raptores magni, prædones, Jeremiæ LI. 48, 56. [Translated in the text.] Grot. in locum.

(9) Ergo tres ordines in ore regni Persarum, et in dentibus ejus, tria regna debemus accipere, Babyloniorum, Medorum atque Persarum: quæ in unum redacta sunt regnum. ['Therefore, the three rows in the mouth of the kingdom of the Persians, and in its teeth, we are to understand, as the three kingdoms of the Babylonians, Medes and Persians, which were reduced into one kingdom.'] Hieron. Comment. Vol. 3. p. 1100. Edit. Benedict. Vatablus et Grot. in locum.

one kingdom; and so likewise Vatablus and Grotius: but (1) Sir Isaac Newton and Bishop Chandler with great propriety explain them to signify the kingdoms of Babylon, Lydia, and Egypt, which were conquered by it, but were not properly parts and members of its body. They might be called *ribs*, as the conquest of them much strengthened the Persian empire; and they might be said to be *between the teeth of the bear*, as they were much grinded and oppressed by the Persians.

And they said thus unto it, Arise, devour much flesh: this was said, as it was before observed, to denote the cruelty of the Medes and Persians. They are also represented very cruel by the prophet Isaiah, (xiii. 18.) *Their bows also shall dash the young men to pieces, and they shall have no pity on the fruit of the womb; their eye shall not spare children.* Cambyses, Ochus, and others of their princes were indeed more like bears than men. Instances of their cruelty abound in almost all the historians, who have written of their affairs, from Herodotus down to Ammianus Marcellinus, (2) who describes them proud, cruel, exercising the power of life and death over slaves and obscure plebeians. They pull off the skins, says he, from men alive by pieces, or all together; and they have abominable laws, by which for one man's offense all the neighbourhood is destroyed. Well therefore might a learned (3) French commentator say, that the Persians have exercised the most severe, and the most cruel dominion that we know of. The punishments used among them beget horror in those who read of them.

III. The third kingdom is represented (ver. 6.) by *another beast like a leopard, which had upon the back of it*

(1) Sir Is. Newton's Observ. on Daniel. Chap. 4. p. 29. Bp. Chandler's Vindication, Book 1. Chap. 2. Sect. 2. p. 198.

(2) Superbi, crudeles, vitæ necisque potestatem in servos et plebeios vindicantes obscuros. Cutes vivis hominibus detrahunt particulatim vel solidas—Leges apud eos—abominandæ—per quas ob noxam unius omnis propinquitas perit. [Translated in the text.] Amm. Marcell. Lib. 23. Cap. 6. p. 384. Edit. Valesii. Paris 1681.

(3) Les Perses ont exercé la domination la plus sevére, et la plus cruelle que l'on connoisse. Les supplices usitez parmi eux font horreur à ceux qui les lisent. [Translated in the text.] Calmet in Dan.

four wings of a fowl; the beast had also four heads; and dominion was given to it. This is the kingdom of the Macedonians or Grecians, who under the command of Alexander the Great overcame the Persians, and reigned next after them: and it is fitly compared to a *leopard* upon several accounts. The leopard is remarkable for swiftness; *their horses* (saith the prophet Habakuk. i. 8.) *are swifter than the leopards:* and Alexander and the Macedonians were amazingly swift and rapid in their conquests. The leopard is a spotted animal: and so was a proper emblem, according to (4) Bochart, of the different manners of the nations which Alexander commanded; or, according to (5) Grotius, of the various manners of Alexander himself, who was sometimes merciful, and sometimes cruel; sometimes temperate, and sometimes drunken; sometimes abstemious, and sometimes incontinent. The leopard as (6) Bochart observes, is of small stature, but of great courage, so as not to be afraid to engage with the lion and the largest beasts; and so Alexander a little king in comparison, of small stature too, and with a small army, dared to attack the king of kings, that is Darius, whose kingdom was extended from the Ægean sea to the Indies. Others have pursued the comparison further, but with more subtilty than solidity; for I conceive the principal point of likeness was designed between the swiftness and impetuosity of the one and the other.

For the same reason the beast *had upon the back of it*

(4) Maculas pardi referunt gentium, quibus imperavit, diversi mores. ['The different manners of the nations, over which he bare rule, have a reference to the spots of a leopard.'] Bochart. Hierozoic. Pars prior. Lib. 3. Cap. 7. Col. 798.

(5) Pardus varium animal. Sic Alexander moribus variis: modo clemens, modo crudelis; modo victûs temperati, modo ebriosus; modo abstinens, modo indulgens amoribus. [' The leopard is an animal of divers colours. So Alexander was of various manners. For sometimes he was merciful, sometimes cruel, sometimes temperate, sometimes drunken, sometimes chaste, and sometimes incontinent.'] Grot. in locum.

(6) Ut pardus staturâ parvus est, sed animo et robore maxime præstans, ita ut cum leone et procerissimis quibusque feris congredi non vereatur: Sic Alexander penè regulus, et cum exiguo apparatu, regem regum aggredi ausus est, id est, Darium, cujus regnum a mari Ægæo usque ad Indos extendebatur. [Translated in the text.] Bochart. ibid.

four wings of a fowl. The Babylonian empire was represented with two wings, but this is described with *four*. For, as (7) Jerome saith, nothing was swifter than the victories of Alexander, who ran through all the countries from Illyricum and the Adriatic sea to the Indian ocean and the river Ganges, not so much fighting as conquering, and in *six* years (he should have said in *twelve*) subjugated part of Europe, and all Asia to himself. *The beast had also four heads:* to denote the four kingdoms into which this same third kingdom should be divided, as it was divided into four kingdoms after the death of Alexander, (8) his four captains, Cassander reigning over Macedon and Greece, Lysimachus over Thrace and Bithynia, Ptolemy over Egypt, and Seleucus over Syria. *And dominion was given to it;* which showeth, as (9) Jerome saith, that it was not owing to the fortitude of Alexander, but proceeded from the will of the Lord. And indeed unless he had been directed, preserved, and assisted by the mighty power of God, how could Alexander with thirty thousand men have overcome Darius with six hundred thousand, and in so short a time have brought all the countries from Greece as far as to India into subjection?

IV. The fourth kingdom is represented (ver. 7.) by a *fourth beast, dreadful and terrible; and strong exceedingly; and it had great iron teeth: it devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it, and it was divers from all the beasts that were before it.* Daniel was curious to know particularly what this might mean; (ver. 19.) *Then I would know the truth of the fourth beast, which was divers from all the the others, exceeding dreadful, whose teeth were of iron, and his nails*

(7) Nihil enim Alexandri victoria velocius fuit, qui ab Illyrico, et Adriatico mari usque ad Indicum oceanum, et Gangen fluvium, non tam præliis, quam victoriis percurrit, et in sex annis partem Europæ, et omnem sibi Asiam subjugavit. [Translated in the text.] Hieron. Comment. Vol. 3. p. 1100. Edit. Benedict.

(8) See Prideaux Connect. Part 1. B. 8. An. 301. Ptolemy Soter 4.

(9) Quodque additur, *Et potestas data est ei*, ostendit, non Alexandri fortitudinis, sed Domini voluntatis fuisse. ['And what is added, *And dominion was given to it*, sheweth, that it did not proceed from the fortitude of Alexander, but from the will of the Lord.'] Hieron. ibid.

of brass, which devoured, brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with his feet. And he was answered thus by the angel; (ver. 23.) *The fourth beast shall be the fourth kingdom upon earth, which shall be divers from all kingdoms, and shall devour the whole earth, and shall tread it down, and break it in pieces.* This fourth kingdom can be none other than the Roman empire; for it is as absurd, as it is singular to pretend to reckon the kingdoms of the Seleucidæ in Syria and of the Lagidæ or Ptolemies in Egypt as the fourth kingdom. Calmet himself (1) acknowlegeth that this is usually explained of the Roman empire; and though for reasons of church, as well as reasons of state, he may prefer the other hypothesis, yet it is, 'without pretending to destroy the system which understands the fourth empire of the Roman, and which, as he confesseth, is the most commonly received among interpreters.'

The kingdoms of the Seleucidæ and of the Lagidæ can in no respect answer to this description of the fourth beast or kingdom. It is described as *dreadful, and terrible, and strong exceedingly:* but the kingdoms of the Lagidæ and of the Seleucidæ were *less* terrible, and *less* strong than any of the former kingdoms. It *devoured, and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue,* that is the remains of the former kingdoms, *with the feet of it:* but the Lagidæ and the Seleucidæ were almost continually at war with each other; and instead of subduing other kingdoms, tore to pieces their own. It was *divers from all kingdoms,* that is of a different nature and constitution of government: but Egypt and Syria were governed much in the same manner as the former kingdoms, and were equally absolute monarchies. Of the fourth kingdom it is said, *that it shall devour the whole earth, and shall tread it down, and break it in pieces:* but this can never be applied to the kings of Egypt and Syria, who were so far

(1) On l'explique ordinairement de l'empire Romain.——sans pretendre pour cela détruire le système qui entend le quatriéme empire, de l'empire Romain, et qui est le plus communément reçu parmi les interprétes. ['It is ordinarily explained of the Roman empire.—Without pretending nevertheless to overturn the system, which understands the fourth empire of the Roman, and which is the most commonly received among interpreters.'] Calmet in locum.

from inlarging their dominions, that they could not preserve what was left them by their ancestors.

Wherefore (2) Jerome rightly concluded, that 'the 'fourth empire which now possesseth the world, is the 'Roman, whereof it is said in the statue, *his legs of iron, 'his feet part of iron, and part of clay;* and yet he mentions now the iron in part, attesting that it had great 'iron teeth. And I greatly wonder, saith he, that when 'he had before placed a lion, and a bear, and a leopard 'in three kingdoms, he should compare the Roman empire to no beast: unless perhaps that he might make 'the beast more formidable, he concealed the name; 'so that whatsoever we could imagine the most fierce in 'beasts, that we should understand the Romans to be.' The fourth beast was so great and horrible, that it was not easy to find an adequate name for it: and the Roman empire was *dreadful, and terrible, and strong exceedingly,* beyond any of the former kingdoms. It was *divers from all kingdoms,* not only in its republican form of government, but likewise in strength and power, and greatness, length of duration, and extent of dominion. *It devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it;* it reduced Macedon into a Roman province (3) about 168 years, the kingdom of Pergamus, about 133 years, Syria about 65 years, and Egypt about 30 years before Christ. And besides the remains of the Macedonian empire, it subdued many other provinces and kingdoms, so that it might by a very usual figure be said, *to devour the whole earth, and to tread it down, and break it in pieces;* and became in a manner what the Roman writers delighted to call it, *terrarum orbis imperium,* the empire of the whole world.

A Greek writer too, and he a grave and judicious

(2) Quartum quod nunc orbem tenet terrarum, imperium Romanum est, de quo in statua dicitur: *Tibiæ ejus ferreæ: pedum quædam pars ferrea, quædam fictilis;* et tamen ipsius ferri ex parte nunc meminit, dentes ejus ferreos et magnos esse confitens. Satisque miror, quod quum suprà, leænam, et ursum, et pardum, in tribus regnis posuerit, Romanum regnum nulli bestiæ comparârit; nisi forte ut formidolosam faceret bestiam, vocabulum tacuit; ut quicquid ferocius cogitaverimus in bestiis hoc Romanos intelligamus. [Translated in the text.] Hieron. Com. Vol. 3. p. 1100. Edit. Benedict.

(3) See Usher, Prideaux, and other Chronologers.

historian, who flourished in the reign of Augustus Cæsar, hath a remarkable passage, which is very pertinent to our present purpose. Speaking of the great superiority of the Roman empire to all former empires he saith, the Persian was succeeded by the Macedonian, and the Macedonian by the Roman; so that it had no conception of Alexander's erecting one kingdom, and his successors another, but considered them both as one and the same kingdom. His words are, (4) 'The Macedonian empire having overturned the force of the Persians in greatness indeed of dominion exceeded all the kingdoms which were before it: but yet it did not florish a long time, but after the death of Alexander it began to grow worse and worse. For being immediately distracted into several principalities by his successors, and after them having strength to go on to the second or third generation, it was weakened by itself,

(4) ἡ δε Μακεδονικη δυναστεια, την Περσων καθελȣσα ισχυν, με γεθει μεν αρχης ἁπασας ὑπερεβαλετο τας προ αυτες· χρονον δε ȣδε αυτη πολυν ηνθησεν, αλλα μετα την Αλεξανδρȣ τελευτην επι το χειρον ηρξατο φερεσθαι. διασπασθεισα γαρ εις πολλȣς ἡγεμονας [εις πολλας ηγεμονιας Sylb.] ευθυς απο [ὑπο] των διαδοχων, και μετ' εκεινȣς αχρι της δευτερας η τριτη, ισχυσασα προελθειν γενεας, ασθενης αυτη δι' ἑαυτης εγενετο, και τελευτωσα ὑπο Ρωμαιων ηφανισθη. και ȣδε αυτη μεντοι πασαν εποιησατο γην τε και θαλασσαν ὑπηκοον. ȣτε γαρ Λιβυης ὁτι μη της προ Αιγυπτω, πολλης ȣσης εκρατησεν, ȣτε την Ευρωπην ὁλην ὑπηγαγετο, αλλα των μεν βορειων αυτης μερων μεχρι Θρακης προηλθε, των δε ἑσπεριων αχρι της Αδριανης κατεβη θαλασσης.——ἡ δε Ρωμαιων πολις ἁπασης μεν αρχει γης, ὁση μη ανεμβατος εςιν, αλλα' ὑπ' ανθρωπων κατοικειται· πασης δε κρατει θαλασσης, ȣ μονον της εντος Ηρακλειων ςηλων, αλλα και της Ωκεανιτιδος, ὁση πλεισθαι μη αδυνατος εςι, πρωτη και μονη των εκ τȣ παντος αιωνος μνημονευομενων, ανατολας και δυσεις ορȣς ποιησαμενη της δυναςειας. χρονος τε αυτη τȣ κρατȣς ȣ βραχυς, αλλ' ὁσος ȣδεμια των αλλων ȣτε πολεων ȣτε βασιλειων. Imperium vero Macedonicum, fractis Persarum opibus, imperii amplitudine omnia quotquot ante fuerant, superavit: sed ne ipsum quidem diu floruit, at post Alexandri obitum in pejus cæpit ruere. Statim enim in multos principes a successoribus distractum, et post illos ad secundam usque tertiamve ætatem progressum ipsum per se debilitatum est, tandemque a Romanis deletum. Verum ne ipsum quidem omnes terras omniaque maria in suam ditionem redegit. Neque enim Africæ, quæ late patet, nisi partis Ægypto proximæ, potitum est: neque totam Europam subegît, sed ab ejus septentrionalibus partibus ad Thraciam usque processit, ab occidentalibus vero usque ad Adriaticum mare decendit.—— At respublica Romana totius teræ, quæ non est deserta, sed ab hominibus incolitur, imperium habet: et totius maris est domina, non solum ejus quod est intra columnas Herculis, sed et oceani quacunque navigari potest, primaque et sola post hominum memoriam oru et occasu fines imperii sui terminavit: ejusque potentia non ad exiguum tempus duravit, sed quantum nulli alii vel reipublicæ vel regno contigit. [Translated in the text.] Dionysius Halicarnass. An. Rom. Lib. 1. p. 2 et 3. Edit. Hudson.

'and at last was destroyed by the Romans. And yet it 'did not reduce all the earth and sea to its obedience. 'For neither did it possess Africa, except that part ad- 'joining to Egypt; neither did it subdue all Europe, 'but only northwards it proceeded as far as Thrace, 'and westwards it descended to the Adriatic sea. But 'the city of Rome ruleth over all the earth, as far as it 'is inhabited; and commands all the sea, not only that 'within the pillars of Hercules, but also the ocean, as 'far as it is navigable, having first and alone of all the 'most celebrated kingdoms, made the east and west the 'bounds of its empire; and its dominion hath con- 'tinued not a short time, but longer than that of any 'other city or kingdom.'

2. Another remarkable property of this beast is (ver. 7) that *it had ten horns:* and according to the angel's interpretation (ver. 24.) *the ten horns out of this kingdom are ten kings* or kingdoms *that shall arise.* *Four kings* a little before (ver. 17.) signified *four kingdoms:* and so here *ten kings* are *ten kingdoms* according to the usual phraseology of scripture. And this is a farther argument, that the kingdoms of the Lagidæ and of the Seleucidæ cannot possibly be the fourth kingdom, because they were never divided into so many parts. The Macedonian empire was divided a few years after the death of Alexander into four kingdoms, whereof Egypt and Syria were two; but these two were never again subdivided into ten lesser kingdoms. Porphyry therefore, who made two separate kingdoms of the kingdom of Alexander and his successors, contrary to the received interpretation of *kings* for *kingdoms,* reckons down to Antiochus Epiphanes, whom he supposeth to be the *little horn,* ten kings who were most cruel: but these kings, as (5) Jerome observes, were not all of one kingdom,

(5) —— et deinde usque ad Antiochum cognomento Epiphanen, decem reges enumerat, qui fuerunt sævissimi: ipsosque reges non unius ponit regni verbi gratia, Macedoniæ, Syriæ, Asiæ, et Ægypti; sed de diversis regnis unum efficit regum ordinem. ['And from hence down to Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes, he reckons ten kings, all of whom were outrageously cruel: and he places these kings, not in one kingdom, for example, in that of Macedonia, or Syria, or Asia, or Egypt. But he makes up his one list of kings, by taking them out of different kingdoms.'] Hieron. Comment. Vol. 3. p. 1130. Edit. Benedict.

of Macedonia for instance, or Syria, or Asia, or Egypt; but the list was made up out of the different kingdoms.

Grotius (6) indeed, and Collins after him, form their catalogue of the ten kings, who were very oppressive and cruel to the Jews, out of the kings of Egypt and Syria; and they thus enumerate them, five out of one kingdom, and five out of the other, Ptolemy the son of Lagus, Seleucus Nicator, Ptolemy Eupator [I suppose they meant Ptolemy Philadelphus, for he reigned next after Ptolemy the son of Lagus, and next before Ptolemy Euergetes, being the son of the former, and the father of the latter] Ptolemy Euergetes, Seleucus Callinicus, Antiochus the Great, Ptolemy Philopator, Ptolemy Epiphanes, Seleucus Philopator, and Antiochus Epiphanes. But it happens, that some of these kings did not persecute the Jews at all, as Seleucus Callinicus. Others were so far from persecuting them, that they were their patrons and protectors. Such were Ptolemy the son of Lagus, Seleucus Nicator, Ptolemy Philadelphus, Ptolemy Euergetes, and Antiochus the Great; and such they are reckoned by (7) Josephus himself. So that out of the ten kings only *four* were persecutors and oppressors of the Jews. The ten horns too are represented as existing all at once; they shoot out and appear upon the head of the beast all together: but these kings were not all contemporaries, many of them were successive, and one fell before another rose. So forced and arbitrary is this exposition, and so contrary to the truth of history.

We must therefore look for the ten kings or kingdoms, where only they can be found, amid the broken pieces of the Roman empire. The Roman empire, as the (8) Romanists themselves allow, was by means of the incursions of the northern nations, dismembered into ten kingdoms: and (9) Machiavel, little thinking what he

(6) Grotius in locum. Scheme of litteral Prophecy, &c. p. 162.

(7) Vide Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 1, 2, 3. Contra Apion. Lib. 2. Sect. 4. et 5. p. 1365. Edit. Hudson.

(8) Calmet upon Rev. xiii. 1. and he refers likewise to Berengaud, Bossuet, and Du Pin.

(9) Machiavel. Hist. Flor. Lib. 1. Bishop Chandler's Vindication, &c. B. 1. Chap. 2. Sect. 3. p. 253.

was doing, (as Bishop Chandler observes) hath given us their names; 1. the Ostrogoths in Mœsia, 2. the Visigoths, in Pannonia, 3. the Sueves and Alans in Gascoigne and Spain, 4. the Vandals in Africa, 5. the Franks in France, 6. the Burgundians in Burgundy, 7. the Heruli and Turingi in Italy, 8. the Saxons and Angles in Britain, 9. the Huns in Hungary, 10. the Lombards, at first upon the Danube, afterwards in Italy.

Mr. Mede, whom (1) a certain writer esteemed as a man divinely inspired for the interpretation of the prophecies, (2) reckons up the ten kingdoms thus in the year 456, the year after Rome was sacked by Genseric king of the Vandals: 1. the Britons, 2. the Saxons in Britain, 3. the Franks, 4. the Burgundians in France, 5. the Wisigoths in the south of France and part of Spain, 6. the Sueves and Alans in Gallicia and Portugal, 7. the Vandals in Afric, 8. the Alemanes in Germany, 9. the Ostrogoths whom the Longobards succeeded in Pannonia; and afterwards in Italy, 10. the Greeks in the residue of the empire.

That excellent chronologer Bishop Lloyd exhibits the following (3) list of the ten kingdoms with the time of their rise: 1. Huns about A.D. 356. 2. Ostrogoths 377. 3. Wisigoths 378. 4. Franks 407. 5. Vandals 407. 6. Sueves and Alans 407. 7. Burgundians 407. 8. Herules and Bugians 476. 9. Saxons 476. 10. Longobards began to reign in Hungary Anno Dom. 526, and were seated in the northern parts of Germany about the year 483.

Sir Isaac Newton enumerates them (4) thus, 1. the kingdom of the Vandals and Alans in Spain and Africa, 2. the kingdom of the Suevians in Spain, 3. the kingdom of the Visigoths, 4. the kingdom of the Alans in Gallia, 5. the kingdom of the Burgundians, 6. the kingdom of the Franks, 7. the kingdom the Britons, 8. the king-

(1) Mons. Jurieu, in the preface to his Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies.
(2) Mede's Works, B. 3. p. 661.
(3) Addenda to Lowth's Comment. p. 524.
(4) Sir Is. Newton's Observ. on Daniel. Chap. 6. p. 47.

dom of the Huns, 9. the kingdom of the Lombards, 10. the kingdom of Ravenna.

The few variations in these accounts must be ascribed to the great disorder and confusion of the times, one kingdom falling, and another rising, and scarce any subsisting for a long while together. As a learned (5) writer remarks, "all these kingdoms were variously "divided either by conquest or inheritance. However, "as if that number of *ten* had been fatal in the Roman "dominions, it hath been taken notice of upon particu- "cular occasions. As about A.D. 1240 by Eberard "bishop of Saltsburgh in the diet of Ratisbon. At the "time of the reformation they were also ten. So that "the Roman empire was divided into *ten* in a manner "first and last." Mr. Whiston, who published his essay on the Revelation of St. John in the year 1706, farther (6) observes, "that as the number of the kingdoms "into which the Roman empire in Europe, agreeably "to the ancient prophecies, was originally divided "A.D. 456, was exactly *ten:* so it is also very nearly "returned again to the same condition; and at present "is divided into ten grand or principal kingdoms or "states.—For tho' there are many more great kingdoms "and dominions in Europe besides, yet are they out of "the bounds of the old Roman Empire, and so not so "directly within our present enquiry."

We would, for reasons which will hereafter appear to the attentive reader, fix these ten kingdoms at a different æra from any of the foregoing; and let us see how they stood in the eighth century. The principal states and governments then were 1. of the senate of Rome, who revolted from the Greek emperors, and claimed and exerted the privilege of choosing a new western emperor; 2. of the Greeks in Ravenna; 3. of the Lombards in Lombardy; 4. of the Huns in Hungary; 5. of the Alemanes in Germany; 6. of the Franks in France; 7. of the Burgundians in Burgundy; 8. of the Goths in Spain;

(5) Daubuz on Rev. XIII. 1. p. 559.
(6) Essay on the Rev. Part 3. Vision 4.

9. of the Britons; 10. of the Saxons in Britain. Not that there were constantly *ten* kingdoms; they were sometimes more, and sometimes fewer: but, as (7) Isaac Newton says, "whatever was their number afterwards, "they are still called the *ten kings* from their first "number."

3. Besides these ten horns or kingdoms of the fourth empire, there was to spring up among them another little horn. *I considered the horns*, saith Daniel, (ver. 8.) *and behold there came up among them another little horn, before whom there were three of the first horns pluckt up by the roots.* Daniel was eager to know (ver. 20.) as *of the ten horns*, so likewise *of the other which came up, and before whom three fell.* And he was informed by the angel, (ver. 24.) that as *the ten horns out of this kingdom were ten kings* or kingdoms *that should arise*, so likewise that *another shall rise after them, and he shall subdue three kings* or kingdoms. One absurdity generally produceth another: and (8) Grotius, in consequence of his former supposition that the fourth kingdom was the kingdoms of the Seleucidæ and the Lagidæ, supposeth also, that *the little horn* was Antiochus Epiphanes, and that *the three horns which were pluckt up before him* were his elder brother Seleucus, and Demetrius the son of Seleucus, and Ptolemy Philopator king of Egypt: and Collins adopts the same notion after Grotius, for Collins was only a retailer of scraps, and could not advance any thing of this kind of his own. But surely it is very arbitrary to reckon Antiochus Epiphanes as one of the ten horns, and at the same time as the little horn, when the prophet hath plainly made the little horn an *eleventh* horn, distinct from the former ten. There were *three of the first horns* to be pluckt up by the roots before the little horn; but the three kings mentioned by Grotius are not all in his first catalogue of ten kings, neither Ptolemy Philometor (if Philometor be meant) nor Demetrius being of the number. Neither were they *pluckt up by*

(7) Sir Isaac Newton's Observ. on Daniel, Chap. 6. p. 73.
(8) Grotius and Collins, ibid.

the roots by Antiochus, or by his order. Seleucus was (9) poisoned by his treasurer Heliodorus, whose aim it was to usurp the crown to himself, before Antiochus returned from Rome, where he had been detained a hostage several years. Demetrius (1) lived to dethrone and murder the son of Antiochus, and succeeded him in the kingdom of Syria. Ptolemy Philopator (2) died king of Egypt almost thirty years before Antiochus came to the throne of Syria: or if Ptolemy Philometor (as is most probable) was meant by Grotius, Philometor, though he suffered much in his wars with Antiochus, yet survived him (3) about eighteen years, and died in possession of the crown of Egypt, after the family of Antiochus had been set aside from the succession to the crown of Syria. Neither doth Antiochus Epiphanes answer to the character of the little horn in other respects, and particularly in this. The little horn continues (ver. 21, 22, 26.) to reign till the second coming of Christ in glory; but Antiochus Epiphanes died about 164 years before his coming in the flesh. These are all farther arguments to prove, that the *fourth beast* must needs signify the Roman empire, and that *the ten horns* represent the ten kingdoms into which that empire was divided, and therefore we must look for *the little horn* among them, and no where else: and that we may not be led away by modern prejudices, let us see whether the ancients will not afford us some light and direction.

Irenæus, a father who florished in the second century, treating of the fraud, pride, and tyranny of Antichrist, asserts that (4) Daniel respecting the end 'of the last

(9) Appian in Syriac. p. 116. Edit. Steph. p. 187. Edit. Tollii.

(1) Appian ibid. p. 117. Edit. Steph. p. 188. Edit. Tollii. Justin. Lib. 34. Cap. 3. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 10. Sect. 1. p. 548. Edit. Hudson.

(2) Ptolemy Philopator died Anno 204, Antiochus became king Anno 175 before Christ. See Usher, Prid. &c.

(3) Antiochus Epiphanes died Anno 164, Ptolemy Philometor Anno 146 before Christ. See Usher, Prid. &c.

(4) Daniel autem novissimi regni finem respiciens, id est, novissimos decem reges, in quos divideretur regnum illorum, super quos filius perditionis veniet, cornua dixit decem nasci bestiæ: ei alterum cornu pusillum nasci in medio ipsorum, et tria cornua de prioribus eradicare a facie ejus——— De quo et apostolus Paulus in secunda ad Thessalonicenses, &c. Mani-

'kingdom, that is, the last ten kings, among whom that 'kingdom should be divided, upon whom the son of per-'dition shall come, saith that ten horns shall grow on 'the beast, and another little horn shall grow up among 'them, and three of the first horns shall be rooted out 'before him. Of whom also Paul the apostle speaketh 'in his second epistle to the Thessalonians, calling him '*the son of perdition*, and *the wicked one*. St. John our 'Lord's disciple, hath in the Apocalypse still more plainly 'signified of the last time, and of these ten kings, among 'whom the empire that now reigneth shall be divided, 'explaining what the ten horns shall be, which were 'seen by Daniel.'

St. Cyril of Jerusalem, who florished about the middle of the fourth century, speaking of Antichrist's coming in the latter times of the Roman empire, (5) saith, 'We 'teach these things not of our own invention, but having

festius adhuc etiam de novissimo tempore, et de his qui sunt in eo decem regibus, in quos dividetur quod nunc regnat imperium, significavit Joannes Domini discipulus in Apocalypsi, edisserens quæ fuerint decem cornua, quæ a Daniele visa sunt, &c. [Translated in the text.] Iren. Lib. 5. Cap. 25, 26. p. 438, &c. Edit. Grabe.

(5) Ταυλα δε διδασκομεν, εκ ευρεσιλογιας, αλλ' εκ των θειων εκκλησιαζομενων γραφων, και μαλιστα εκ της αξιως αναξιωσθεισης τυ Δανιηλ προφητειας μεμαθηκοτες· καθως και Ταβριηλ ὁ Αρχαγελος ἑρμηνευσε λεγων ὑτω· το θηριον το τεταρτον, βασιλεια τεταρτη εσαι εν τη γη, ητις υπερεξει πασας τας βασιλειας, ταυτην δε ειναι των Ρωμαιων οι εκκλησιαστικοι παραδεδωκασιν εξηγηται. πρωτης γαρ επισταμαι γενομενης, της Ασσυριων βασιλειας· και δευτερας, της Μηδων ὁμυ και Περσων· και μιας ταυτας, της Μακεδονων, τριτης· ἡ τεταρτη βασιλεια νυν ἡ Ρωμαιων εστιν εια ἑξης ὁ Γαβριηλ ἑρμηνευων φησι· τα δεκα κεραια αυτυ, δεκα βασιλεις αναστησονται· και οπισω αυτων αναστησεται βασιλευς ἑτερος, ὁς υπεροισει κακοις παντας τυς εμπροσθεν. υ μονον φησι τυς δεκα, αλλα και παντας τυς προγεγονοτας. Και τρεις βασιλεις ταπεινωσει· δηλον και [δε] απο των δεκα των προτερων, απο των δεκα τελων τυ τρεις ταπεινων, παντως ὁτι αυτος ογδοος βασιλευσει· και λογυς, φησι, προς τον ὑψιστον λαλησει. Hæc autem docemus, non comminiscentes, sed e scripturis divinis colligentes, et ex ea maxime, quæ nuper lecta est, ex Daniele prophetæ edocti: sicut Gabriel Archangelus interpretatus est, dicens sic: *Quarta bestia, quartum est regnum in terra, quod majus erit aliis omnibus regnis*: hoc autem esse Romanorum, ecclesiastici interpretes tradiderunt. Primum enim erat regnum Assyriorum: alterum Medorum simul et Persarum: tertium postea Macedonum: quartum est nunc regnum Romanorum. Deinceps vere Gabriel interpretans dicit: *Decem cornua ipsius, decem regna consurgent: post ista, alter consurget, qui omnes ante se malis vincet*: neque solum illos decem reges, sed omnes qui ante se fuerunt. *Et tres reges deprimet*. Manifestum autem est, quod ex istis decem tres opprimet, prorsus et ipsemet octavus regnet: et verba faciet contra Altissimum. [Translated in the text.] Cyrill. Hieros. Catech. 15. Cap. 6. p. 211. Edit. Milles. Oxon.

'learned them out of the divine scriptures, and especially 'out of the prophecy of Daniel which was just now read; 'even as Gabriel the archangel interpreted, saying thus; '*the fourth beast shall be the fourth kingdom upon* '*earth, which shall exceed all the kingdoms:* but that 'this is the empire of the Romans, ecclesiastical interpre- 'ters have delivered. For the first that was made famous, 'was the kingdom of the Assyrians; and the second was 'that of the Medes and Persians together; and after 'these the third, was that of the Macedonians; and the 'fourth kingdom, is now that of the Romans. After- 'wards Gabriel interpreting saith, *Its ten horns are ten* '*kings that shall arise; and after them shall arise an-* '*other king, who shall exceed in wickedness all before* '*him;* not only the ten he saith, but also all who were 'before him. *And he shall depress three kings:* but it 'is manifest that of the first ten he shall depress three, 'that he himself may reign the eighth: and he shall 'speak words, saith he, against the most High.'

St. Jerome having refuted Porphyry's notion of Antiochus Epiphanes being the little horn, (where by the way the passage appears to want much emendation) (6) concludes thus: 'Therefore let us say what all eccle- 'siastical writers have delivered, that in the latter days, 'when the empire of the Romans shall be destroyed, 'there will be ten kings, who shall divide it between 'them, and an eleventh shall arise, a little king, who 'shall subdue three of the ten kings, and the other seven 'shall submit their necks to the conqueror.' Theodoret speaketh much to the same purpose in his comment upon Daniel: and (7) St. Austin expresly approveth of Jerome's

(6) Ergo dicamus quod omnes scriptores ecclesiastici tradiderunt: in consummatione mundi quando regnum destruendum est Romanorum, decem futuros reges, qui orbem Romanum inter se dividant: et undecimum surrecturum esse regem parvulum, qui tres reges de decem regibus superaturus sit—Quibus interfectis, etiam septem alii reges victori colla submittent. [Translated in the text.] Hieron. Comment. Vol. 3. p. 1101. Edit. Benedict.

(7) Quatuor illa regna exposuerunt quidem Assyriorum, Persarum, Macedonum, et Romanorum. Quam vero convenienter id fecerin, qui nosse desiderant, legant presbyteri Hieronymi librum in Danielem, satis diligenter eruditéque conscriptum. [Translated in the text.] Aug. de Civ. Dei. Lib. 20. Cap. 23. Tom. 7. p. 457. Edit. Benedict. Ant.

interpretation. 'Those four kingdoms, saith he, some 'have expounded to be the Assyrian, Persian, Macedo-'nian and Roman. How properly they have done that, 'those who are desirous of knowing, may read the pres-'byter Jerome's book upon Daniel, which is very accu-'rately and learnedly written.'

The fathers, it appears by these instances, conceived that the fourth empire was the Roman, that the Roman empire was to be divided between ten kings, and that among them would arise Antichrist, who should root up three of the ten kings, and domineer over the other seven. At the same time it must be confessed, that these same fathers entertained strange wild notions concerning this Antichrist, (8) that he should be a Jew, that he should descend from the tribe of Dan, that he should come from Babylon, that he should fix his residence in the temple at Jerusalem, that he should first subdue Egypt, and afterwards Lybia and Ethiopia, which were the three horns that should fall before him. But it is no wonder that the fathers, nor indeed that any one should mistake in particularly applying prophecies, which had not then received their completion. The fathers might understand the prophecies so far as they were fulfilled, and might say with certainty which were the four great kingdoms of the world, that the fourth was the Roman, and that the Roman would be divided in the manner that Daniel had foretold. So far

(8) Irenæi Lib. 5. Cap. 25 et 30. Cyrilli Hieros. Catech. 15. Cap. 7.—tres reges de decem regibus superaturus sit, id est, Ægyptiorum regem, et Africæ et Æthiopiæ. [' He shall conquer three kings out of the ten kings, namely, the kings of Egypt, Africa, and Ethiopia.'] Hieron. Comment. p. 1101.—nasciturus est de populo Judæorum, et de Babylone venturus, primum superaturus est regem Ægypti, &c. et postea Libyas et Æthiopas superaturus, quæ de decem cornibus tria contrita cornua supra legimus. [' He will be descended from the people of the Jews, and he will come from Babylon, and first subdue the king of Egypt, &c. Afterwards he will subdue the Libyans and Ethiopians, which are the three horns out of the ten, which we read above as trampled upon.'] Idem in Cap. 11. p. 1128 et 1132. Edit. Benedict. Cum Jacob filios suos benediceret, talia dixit de isto Dan, ut de ipsa tribu existimetur exsurrecturus Antichristus. Augustin. [' When Jacob blessed his sons, he spake such things concerning Dan, that from thence it hath been thought that Antichrist would spring from that tribe.'] Quæstiones in Jos. Lib. 6. Quæst. 12. p. 441. 3d Tom. Edit. Benedict. Antwerpiæ.

was plain and obvious, and so far they might proceed with safety: but when they ventured farther, and would define particularly who were the ten kings, and who was Antichrist, and who were the three kings that should fall before him, then they plunged out of their depth, and were lost in the abyss of error. Such prophecies can be explained only by the events, and these events were yet in the womb of time. Some other mistaken prophecies might lead the fathers into this interpretation. There is not the least foundation for it in this prophecy. On the contrary this prophecy might have instructed them better, and have taught them that as the western empire was to be divided into ten kingdoms, so the little horn should arise among them, and subdue three of them: and consequently the little horn could not arise in the east, he could not be a Jew, he could not come from Babylon, and neither could Egypt, Lybia, and Ethiopia be the three kingdoms which should fall before him.

Antichrist then (as the fathers delight to call him) or the little horn is to be sought among the ten kingdoms of the western Roman empire. I say of the western Roman empire, because that was properly the body of the fourth beast; Greece and the countries which lay eastward of Italy belonged to the third beast; for the former beasts were still subsisting, tho' their dominion was taken away. *As concerning the rest of the beasts,* saith Daniel (ver. 12.) *they had their dominion taken away; yet their lives were prolonged for a season and a time.* "And therefore, as Sir Isaac (9) Newton rightly infers, "all the four beasts are still alive, though the dominion of "the three first be taken away. The nations of Chaldæa "and Assyria are still the first beast. Those of Media "and Persia are still the second beast. Those of Ma-"cedon, Greece, and Thrace, Asia minor, Syria and "Egypt, are still the third. And those of Europe, on "this side Greece, are still the fourth. Seeing therefore "the body of the third beast is confined to the nations

(9) Sir Is. Newton's Observ. on Daniel, Chap. 4. p. 31, 32.

" on this side the river Euphrates, and the body of the " fourth beast is confined to the nations on this side " Greece; we are to look for all the four heads of the " third beast among the nations on this side the river " Euphrates; and for all the eleven horns of the fourth " beast, among the nations on this side of Greece. And " therefore, at the breaking of the Greek empire into four " kingdoms of the Greeks, we include no part of the " Chaldæans, Medes and Persians in those kingdoms, " because they belonged to the bodies of the two first " beasts. Nor do we reckon the Greek empire seated at " Constantinople, among the horns of the fourth beast, " because it belonged to the body of the third." For the same reason, neither can the Saracen nor the Turk be the little horn or Antichrist, as some have imagined them to be; and neither do they come up to the character in other respects.

Let us therefore look for the little horn, as the prophecy itself directs us, among the other ten horns of the western Roman empire. If indeed it be true, as the Romanists pretend, that this part of the prophecy is not yet fulfilled, and that Antichrist will come only, for a little time before the general judgment, it would be in vain to inquire who or what he is; we should split upon the same rock as the fathers have done; it would better become us to say with (1) Calmet, that 'as the reign ' of Antichrist is still remote, we cannot show the ac- ' complishment of the prophecies with regard to him; ' we ought to content ourselves with considering the ' past, and comparing it with the words of the prophet; ' the past is an assurance of the future.' But perhaps upon examination we shall see reason to conclude with the generality of the Protestants, that this part of the prophecy is fulfilled. We have seen already that the Roman empire was divided into ten horns or kingdoms,

(1) Comme le regne de l'Antichrist est encore eloigné, on ne peut pas montrer l'accomplissement des prophéties à son egard. On doit se contenter de considérer le passé, et de le comparer avec les paroles du prophéte. Le passé est une assurance de ce qui doit arriver un jour. [Translated in the text.] Calmet in locum.

and among them possibly we may find another little horn or kingdom answering in all respects to the character here given. Machiavel himself will lead us by the hand; for having shown how the Roman empire was broken and divided by the incursions of the northern nations, he (2) says "About this time the bishops of "Rome began to take upon them, and to exercise "greater authority than they had formerly done. At "first the successors of St. Peter were venerable and "eminent for their miracles, and the holiness of their "lives; and their examples added daily such numbers "to the christian church, that to obviate or remove the "confusions which were then in the world, many princes "turned Christians, and the emperor of Rome being "converted among the rest, and quitting Rome, to "hold his residence at Constantinople, the Roman em-"pire (as we have said before) began to decline, but "the church of Rome augmented as fast." And so he proceeds to give an account how the Roman empire declined, and the power of the church of Rome increased, first under the Goths, then under the Lombards, and afterwards by the calling in of the Franks.

Here then is a little horn springing up among the other ten horns. The bishop of Rome was respectable as a bishop long before, but he did not become a *horn* properly, (which is an emblem of strength and power) till he became a temporal prince. He was to *rise after* the other, that is *behind them*, as the Greek translates it οπισω αυτων, and as (3) Mr. Mede explains it, so that the ten kings were not aware of the growing up of the little horn, till it overtopped them; the word in the original signifying as well *behind* in place, as *after* in time; as also *post* in Latin is used indifferently either of place or time. *Three of the first horns*, that is three of the first kings or kingdoms, were to be *pluckt up by the roots*, and to *fall before him*. And these three, according to Mr. Mede, "were those whose dominions extended

(2) Machiavel's Hist. of Florence. B. 1. p. 6. of the English translation.
(3) Mede's Works. B. 4. Epist. 24. p. 778, &c.

" into Italy, and so stood in his light: first, that of the " *Greeks*, whose emperor Leo Isaurus, for the quarrel " of image-worship, he excommunicated, and made " his subjects of Italy revolt from their allegiance: " secondly, that of the *Longobards* (successors to the " Ostrogoths) whose kingdom he caused by the aid of " the Franks to be wholly ruined and extirpated, there- " by to get the exarchate of Ravenna (which since the " revolt from the Greeks the Longobards were seised on) " for a patrimony to St. Peter: thirdly, the last was " the kingdom of the *Franks* itself, continued in the " empire of Germany; whose emperors from the days " of Henry the fourth he excommunicated, deposed and " trampled under his feet, and never suffered to live in " rest, till he made them not only to quit their interest " in the election of popes and investitures of bishops, " but that remainder also of jurisdiction in Italy, where- " with together with the Roman name he had once " infeoffed their predecessors. These were the kings " by displanting, or (as the Vulgar hath) *humbling* of " whom the pope got elbow-room by degrees, and " advanced himself to that highth of temporal majesty " and absolute greatness, which made him so terrible in " the world."

Sir Isaac Newton reckons them up with some variation. " Kings, (4) saith he, are put for kingdoms, as above; " and therefore the little horn is a little kingdom. It " was a horn of the fourth beast, and rooted up three " of his first horns; and therefore we are to look for it " among the nations of the Latin empire, after the rise " of the ten horns.——In the eighth century, by root- " ing up and subduing the exarchate of *Ravenna*, the " kingdom of the *Lombards*, and the senate and duke- " dom of Rome, he acquired Peter's patrimony out of " their dominions; and thereby rose up as a temporal " prince or king, or horn of the fourth beast." Again, " It was certainly by the victory of the see of Rome " over the *Greek* emperor, the king of *Lombardy*, and

(4) Sir Isaac Newton's Observ. on Daniel. Chap. 7. p. 74, et 75, et 76.

" the senate of *Rome*, that she acquired Peter's patri-
" mony, and rose up to her greatness."

In both these schemes there is something to be approved, and something perhaps to be disapproved. In Mr. Mede's plan it is to be approved, that the three kingdoms which he proposeth, are mentioned in his first table of the ten kingdoms; but then it may be questioned, whether the kingdom of the Franks or Germans in Italy can be said properly to have been *pluckt up by the roots* through the power or policy of the popes. There were indeed long struggles and contests between the popes and emperors; but did the pope ever so totally prevail over the emperors, as to *extirpate* and *eradicate* them out of Italy, (for so the (5) original word signifies) and to seize and annex their dominions to his own? If all history answers in the affirmative, as it hath been said, it would be easy to point out the time or times. But for my part I recollect no period when the pope dispossessed the emperor of all his Italian dominions, and united them to the estates of the church, and enjoyed them as such for any time. The emperor possesseth dominions in Italy to this day. In Sir Isaac Newton's plan it is to be approved, that the three kingdoms which he proposeth, were *pluckt up by the roots*, were totally subdued by the popes, and possessed as parts of Peter's patrimony: but then it may be objected, that only two of the three are mentioned in his first catalogue of the ten kingdoms, the senate and dukedom of Rome being not included in the number. There were not only *three horns* to be pluckt up before the little horn, but *three of the first horns*. We have therefore exhibited a catalogue of the ten kingdoms, as they stood in the eighth century; and therein are comprehended the three states or kingdoms, which constituted the pope's dominions, and which we conceive to be the same as Sir Isaac Newton did, the *exarchate* of *Ravenna*, the *kingdom* of the *Lombards*, and the *state* of *Rome*.

First, the *exarchate* of *Ravenna*, which of right be-

(5) עקר Evellere, exstirpare, eradicare. [To pluck up, to extirpate, to eradicate.] Buxtorf.

longed to the Greek emperors, and which was the capital of their dominions in Italy, having revolted at the instigation of the pope, was unjustly seised by (6) Aistulphus king of the Lombards, who thereupon thought of making himself master of Italy. The pope in this exigency applied for help to Pipin king of France, who marched into Italy, besieged the Lombards in Pavia, and forced them to surrender the exarchate and other territorities, which were not restored to the Greek emperor as in justice they ought to have been, but at the solicitation of the pope were given to St. Peter and his successors for a perpetual succession. Pope Zachary had acknowleged Pipin, usurper of the crown of France, as lawful sovran; and now Pipin in his turn bestowed a principality, which was another's properly, upon pope Stephen II. the successor of Zachary. "And so, as "(7) Platina says, the name of the exarchate, which "had continued from the time of Narses to the taking "of Ravenna by Aistulphus an hundred and seventy "years, was extinguished." This was effected in the year 755 according to Sigonius. And henceforward the popes, being now become temporal princes, did no longer date their epistles and bulls by the years of the emperors reign, but by the years of their own advancement to the papal chair.

Secondly, the *kingdom* of the *Lombards* was often troublesome to the popes: and now again (8) king Desiderius invaded the territories of pope Adrian I. So that the pope was obliged to have recourse aga n to the king of France, and earnestly invited Charles the great, the son and successor of Pipin, to come into Italy to his assistance. He came accordingly with a great army, being ambitious also himself of enlarging his do-

(6) Sigonius de regno Ital. Lib. 3. Ann. 753—755. Abregé Chronologique par Mezeray, Pepin Roy 22. Platina's Lives of the Popes translated and continued by Sir Paul Rycaut in Stephen II. Sir Is. Newton's Observ. on Daniel, Chap. 7. Voltaire of *the origin of the power of the popes* in the first part of his General History of Europe.

(7) Platina ibid. p. 140.

(8) Sigonius de regno Ital. Lib. 3. Ann. 772—774. Platina in Adrian I. Abregé Chronologique par Mezeray, Charlemagne, Roy 23. Ann. 772—774. Sir Isaac Newton's Observ. on Daniel, Chap. 7. p. 80.

minions in Italy, and conquered the Lombards, and put an end to their kingdom, and gave great part of their dominions to the pope. He not only confirmed the former donations of his father Pipin, but also made an addition of other countries to them, as Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily, the Sabin territory, the whole tract between Lucca and Parma, and that part of Tuscany which belonged to the Lombards: and the tables of these donations he signed himself, and caused them to be signed by the bishops, abbats, and other great men then present, and laid them so signed upon the altar of St. Peter. And this (9) was the end of the kingdom of the Lombards, in the 206th year after their possessing Italy, and in the year of Christ 774.

Thirdly, the *state of Rome*, though subject to the popes in things spiritual, was yet in things temporal governed by the senate and people, who after their defection from the eastern emperors, still retained many of their old privileges, and elected both the western emperor and the popes. After (1) Charles the great had overthrown the kingdom of the Lombards, he came again to Rome, and was there by the pope, bishops, abbats, and people of Rome, chosen Roman patrician, which is the degree of honor and power next to the emperor. He then settled the affairs of Italy, and permitted the pope to hold under him the duchy of Rome with other territories: but after a few years, the (2) Romans desirous to recover their liberty conspired against pope Leo III, accused him of many great crimes, and imprisoned him. His accusers were heard on a day appointed before Charles and a council of French and Italian bishops: but the pope, without pleading his own cause or making any defense, was acquitted, his accusers were slain or banished, and he himself was declared su-

(9) Atque hic quidem finis regni Longobardorum in Italia fuit, anno postquam Italiam occupaverant, ducentesimo sexto, Christi vero septingentesimo septuagesimo quarto. [Translated in the text.] Sigonius in fine libri tertii.

(1) Sigonius de regno Ital. Lib. 4. Ann. 774. Mezeray ibid.

(2) Sigonius ibid. Ann. 798—801. Platino in Leo III. Mezeray ibid. Ann. 799, &c. Sir Is. Newton ibid. Voltaire *of the revival of the empire of the west*, in the first part of his General Hist. of Europe.

perior to all human judicature. And thus the foundation was laid for the absolute authority of the pope over the Romans, which was completed by degrees; and Charles in return was chosen emperor of the west. However (3) after the death of Charles the great, the Romans again conspired against the pope; but Lewis the pious, the son and successor of Charles, acquitted him again. In the mean while Leo was dangerously ill: which as soon as the Romans his enemies perceived, they rose again, burnt and plundered his villas, and thence marched to Rome to recover what things they complained were taken from them by force; but they were repressed by some of the emperor's troops. The same (4) emperor Lewis the pious, at the request of pope Paschal, confirmed the donations which his father and grandfather had made to the see of Rome. Sigonius has recited the confirmation: and therein are mentioned Rome and its duchy containing part of Tuscany and Campania, Ravenna with the exarchate and Pentapolis, and the other part of Tuscany and the countries taken from the Lombards: and all these are granted to the pope and his successors to the end of the world, *ut in suo detineant jure, principatu, atque ditione,* that they should hold them in their own right, principality, and dominion. These, as we conceive, were *the three horns, three of the first horns,* which fell before the little horn: and the pope hath in a manner pointed himself out for the person by wearing *the triple crown.*

4. In other respects too the pope fully answers the character of the little horn; so that if exquisite fitness of application may assure us of the true sense of the prophecy, we can no longer doubt concerning the person. He is *a little horn:* And the power of the popes was originally very small, and their temporal dominions were little and inconsiderable in comparison with others of the ten horns.——*He shall be divers from the first:* (ver.

(3) Sigonius ibid. Ann. 814, 815.
(4) Sigonius ibid. Ann. 817. Sir Is. Newton's Observ. on Daniel, Chap. 7. p. 88.

24.) The Greek and Arabic translate it, that (5) he shall exceed in wickedness all before him; and so most of the fathers, who made use only of the Greek translation, understood it: but it rather signifies that his kingdom shall be of a different nature and constitution: And the power of the pope differs greatly from that of all other princes, being an ecclesiastical and spiritual, as well as a civil and temporal authority.——*And behold in this horn were eyes like the eyes of a man:* (ver. 8.) To denote his cunning and foresight, his looking out and watching all opportunities to promote his own interests: And the policy of the Roman hierarchy hath almost passed into a proverb; the pope is properly an *overlooker* or *overseer,* επισκοπος or bishop in the litteral sense of the word.—*He had a mouth speaking very great things:* (ver. 8, 20.) And who hath been more noisy and blustering than the pope, especially in former ages, boasting of his supremacy, thundering out his bulls and anathemas, excommunicating princes, and absolving subjects from their allegiance?—*His look was more stout than his fellows;* (ver. 20.) And the pope assumes a superiority not only over his fellow bishops but even over crowned heads, and requires his foot to be kissed, and greater honors to be paid to him than to kings and emperors themselves.—*And he shall speak great words against the most High:* (ver 25.) or as (6) Symmachus interprets it *he shall speak great words* as *the most High;* setting up himself above all laws divine and human, arrogating to himself godlike attributes and titles of *holiness* and *infallibility,* exacting obedience to his ordinances and decrees in preference to, and open violation of reason and scripture, insulting men, and blaspheming God. In Gratian's decretals the pope hath the title of *God* given to him.—*And he shall wear out the saints of the most High;* by wars and massacres and inquisitions, persecuting and destroying the faithful servants of Jesus and the true worshippers of God, who

(5) ὑς ὑπερισσει κακοις παντας τους εμπροσθεν. Gr. qui malis omnes præ decessores suos superabit. [Translated in the text.] Arab.

(5) Sive ut interpretatus est Symmachus: *sermones quasi Deus loquetur.* [Translated in the text.] Hieron. Comment. Vol. 3. p. 1103. Edit. Benedict.

protest against his innovations, and refuse to comply with the idolatry practised in the church of Rome.—*And he shall think to change times and laws:* appointing fasts and feasts, canonizing saints, granting pardons and indulgences for sins, instituting new modes of worship, imposing new articles of faith, injoining new rules of practice, and reversing at pleasure the laws both of God and men.——*And they shall be given into his hand, until a time, and times, and the dividing of time. A time,* all agree, signifies a year; and *a time and times and the dividing of time,* or *half a time,* are three years and a half. So long and no longer, as the Romanists conceive, the power of Antichrist will continue; but it is impossible for all the things, which are predicted of Antichrist, to be fulfilled in so short a space of time; and neither is Antichrist or the little horn a single man, but a kingdom. Single men are not the subjects of this prophecy, but kingdoms. The *four kings* (ver. 17.) are not four single kings, but kingdoms; and so the *ten horns* or kings (ver. 24.) are not ten single kings, but kingdoms; and so likewise *the little horn* is not a single king, but a kingdom, not a single man, but a succession of men, exercising such powers, and performing such actions as are here described. We must therefore compute the time according to the nature and genius of the prophetic language. *A time,* then, *and times, and half a time* are three years and a half: and the ancient Jewish year consisting of twelve months, and each month of thirty days, *a time and times and half a time,* or three years and a half, are reckoned in the Revelation (xi. 2, 3, xii. 6, 14.) as equivalent to *forty and two months,* or *a thousand two hundred and threescore days:* and a day in the stile of the prophets is a year; *I have appointed thee each day for a year,* saith God to Ezekiel; (iv. 6.) and it is confessed, that *the seventy weeks* in the ninth chapter of Daniel are weeks of years; and consequently 1260 *days* are 1260 *years.* So long Antichrist or the little horn will continue: but from what point of time the commencement of these 1260 years is to be dated, is not so easy to determin. It should seem that they are

to be computed from the full establishment of the power of the Pope, and no less is implied in the expression *given into his hand.* Now the power of the pope, as a horn or temporal prince, it hath been shown, was established in the eighth century: and 1260 years from that time will lead us down to about the year of Christ 2000, or about the 6000th year of the world: and there is an (7) old tradition both among Jews and Christians, that at the end of six thousand years the Messiah shall come, and the world shall be renewed, the reign of the wicked one shall cease, and the reign of the saints upon earth shall begin. But as (8) Irenæus saith in a like case, it is surer and safer to wait for the completion of the prophecy, than to conjecture and to divine about it. When the end shall come, then we shall know better whence to date the beginning.

V. All these kingdoms will be succeeded by the kingdom of the Messiah. *I beheld,* saith Daniel, (ver. 9, 10.) *till the thrones were cast down,* or rather (9) *till thrones were set, and the ancient of days did sit, whose garment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like the pure wool; his throne was like the fiery flame, and his wheels as burning fire. A fiery stream issued and came forth from before him; thousand thousands ministered unto him: and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him: the judgment was set,* or the judges did sit, *and the books were opened.* These metaphors and figures are borrowed from the solemnities of earthly judicatories, and particularly of the great Sanhedrim of the Jews, where the father of the consistory sat, with his assessors seated on each side of him in the form of a semicircle, and the people stand-

(7) S. Barnabæ Epist. Cap. 15. cum notis Cotelerii. Burnet's Theory, B. 3. ch. 5.

(8) ασφαλεστερον ουν και ακινδυνοτερον, το περιμενειν την εκβασιν της προφητειας, ἡ το καταζοχαζεσθαι και καταμαντευεσθαι. Certius ergo et sine periculo est, sustinere ad impletionem prophetiæ, quam suspicari et divinare. [Translated in the text.] Iren. Lib. 5. Cap. 30. p. 448. Edit. Grabe.

(9) Donec throni positi sunt. ['Till the thrones were set.'] Vulg. ἑως ὁτου οἱ θρονοι ετεθησαν: ['Until the thrones were placed.'] Sept. Videbam subsellia posita esse. ['I saw the benches placed.'] Syr. sedes positæ fuerunt ['The seats were set.'] Arab. and the same word is used in the Chaldee paraphrase of Jer. i. 15. *they shall* set *every one his throne.*

ing before him: and from this description again was borrowed the description of the day of judgment in the New Testament.

I beheld then because of the voice of the great words which the horn spake; I beheld, even till the beast was slain, and his body destroyed, and given to the burning flame, (ver. 11.) The beast will be destroyed *because of the great words which the horn spake,* and the destruction of the beast will also be the destruction of the horn: and consequently the horn is a part of the fourth beast, or of the Roman empire. *As concerning the rest of the beasts, they had their dominion taken away, yet their lives were prolonged for a season and time.* (ver. 12.) When the dominion was taken away from the other beasts, their bodies were not destroyed, they were suffered to continue still in being: but when the dominion shall be taken away from this beast, his body shall totally be destroyed; because other kingdoms succeeded to those, but none other earthly kingdom shall succeed to this.

I saw in the night-visions, and behold, one like the son of man, came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the ancient of days, and they brought him near before him. (ver. 13.) How strange and forced, how absurd and unworthy of Grotius is it to apply this to the Romans, which hath always been, and can only be properly understood of the Messiah? From hence *the son of man* came to be a (1) known phrase for the Messiah among the Jews. From hence it was taken and used so frequently in the gospels: and our Saviour intimates himself to be this very son of man in saying (Matt. xxvi. 64, 65.) *Hereafter shall ye see the son of man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven;* and thereupon he was charged by the high-priest with having *spoken blasphemy.*

And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages should serve him: his dominion is an everlasting dominion,

(1) See Jewish authors cited even by Grotius and Bp. Chandler in his Defense of Christianity, Chap. 2. Sect. 1. p. 108. 3d Edit.

which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed. (ver. 14.) All these kingdoms shall in their turns be destroyed, but the kingdom of the Messiah shall stand for ever: and it was in allusion to this prophecy, that the angel said of Jesus before he was conceived in the womb, (Luke i. 33.) *He shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever, and of his kingdom there shall be no end.*

After what manner these great changes will be effected, we cannot pretend to say, as God hath not been pleased to reveal it. We see the remains of the ten horns, which arose out of the Roman empire. We see the little horn still subsisting, though not in full strength and vigor, but as we hope upon the decline, and tending towards a dissolution. And having seen so many of these particulars accomplished, we can have no reason to doubt that the rest also will be fulfilled in due season, though we cannot frame any conception how Christ will be manifested in glory, how the little horn with the body of the fourth beast will be given to the burning flame, or how the saints will take the kingdom, and possess it for ever and ever. It is the nature of such prophecies not to be perfectly understood, till they are fulfilled. The best comment upon them will be their completion.

It may yet add some farther light to the prophecies, if we compare this and the former together; for comparing scripture with scripture is the best way to understand both the one and the other. What was represented to Nebuchadnezzar in the form of a *great image*, was represented again to Daniel by *four great wild beasts:* and the beasts degenerate, as the metals in the image grow worse and worse, the lower they descend.

This image's head was of fine gold, and *the first beast was like a lion with eagle's wings;* and these answer to each other; and both represented the powers then reigning, or the kingdom of the Babylonians: but it appeared in splendor and glory to Nebuchadnezzar, as it was then in its florishing condition; the *plucking* of its *wings*, and its humiliation were shown to Daniel, as it was then drawing near to its fatal end.

The breast and arms of silver, and *the second beast*

like a bear were designed to represent the second kingdom, or that of the Medes and Persians. The *two arms* are supposed to denote the two people; but some farther particulars were hinted to Daniel, of the one people rising up above the other people, and of the conquest of three additional kingdoms. To Nebuchadnezzar this kingdom was called *inferior*, or worse than the former; and to Daniel it was described as very cruel, *Arise, devour much flesh.*

The third kingdom, or that of the Macedonians, was represented by *the belly and thighs of brass*, and by *the third beast like a leopard with four wings of a fowl.* It was said to Nebuchadnezzar, that *it should bear rule over all the earth;* and in Daniel's vision, *dominion was given to it.* The *four heads* signify Alexander's four successors; but the *two thighs* can only signify the two principal of them, the Seleucidæ, and Lagidæ, the Syrian and Egyptian kings.

The legs of iron, and *the fourth beast with great iron teeth*, correspond exactly; and as *iron breaketh in pieces* all other metals, so the fourth beast *devoured, and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it;* and they were both therefore equally proper representatives of the fourth kingdom, or the Roman, which was stronger and more powerful than all the former kingdoms. The *ten toes* too and the *ten horns* were alike fit emblems of the ten kingdoms, which arose out of the division of the Roman empire; but all that relates to *the little horn* was revealed only to Daniel, as a person more immediately interested in the fate of the church.

The *stone*, that was *cut out of the mountain without hands, and became* itself *a mountain, and filled the whole earth*, is explained to be a kingdom, which shall prevail over all other kingdoms, and become universal and everlasting. In like manner, *one like the son of man came to the ancient of days*, and was advanced to a kingdom, which shall prevail likewise over all other kingdoms, and become universal and everlasting.

Such concord and agreement is there between these prophecies of Daniel, which remarkable as they are in

many things, are in nothing more remarkable, than that they comprehend so many distant events, and extend through so many ages, from the reign of the Babylonians to the consummation of all things. They are truly, as (2) Mr. Mede called them "*the sacred calendar and great almanac of prophecy,* a prophetical "chronology of times measured by the succession of four "principal kingdoms, from the beginning of the captivity "of Israel, until the mystery of God should be finished." They are as it were the great outlines, the rest mostly are filling up the parts: and as these will cast light upon the subsequent prophecies, so the subsequent prophecies will reflect light upon them again.

Daniel was *much troubled,* (ver. 28.) *and his countenance changed in him* at the foresight of the calamities to be brought upon the church by the little horn: *but he kept the matter in his heart.* Much more may good men be grieved at the sight of these calamities, and lament the prevalence of popery and wickedness in the world: but let them *keep it in their heart,* that a time of just retribution will certainly come. The proof may be drawn from the moral attributes of God, as well as from his promise; (ver. 26, 27.) *The judgment shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion, to consume and destroy it unto the end. And the kingdom, and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven shall be given to the people of the saints of the most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominion shall serve and obey him.*

(2) Mede's Works, B. 3. p. 654.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

LECTURE FOUNDED BY THE HONORABLE

ROBERT BOYLE,

January 5, 1756.

THERE is not a stronger or more convincing proof of divine revelation, than the *sure word of prophecy.* But to the truth of prophecy it is objected, that the predictions were written after the events; and could it be proved as well as asserted, it would really be an insuperable objection. It was thought therefore that a greater service could not be done to the cause of Christianity, than by an induction of particulars to show, that the predictions were prior to the events, nay that several prophecies have been fulfilled in these later ages, and are fulfilling even at this present time: And for the farther prosecution and the better encouragement of this work, I have been called to preach these lectures, by the favor and recommendation of *the great prelate,* who having himself written most excellently *of the use and intent of prophecy,* is also willing to reward and encourage any one who bestows his time and pains upon the same subject. The ready and gracious concurrence of the (1) other trustees was an additional honor and favor,

(1) The trustees appointed by Mr. Boyle himself were Sir John Rotheram, Serjeant at law, Sir Henry Ashurst of London, Knt. and Bart. Thomas Tenison, D. D. afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, and John Evelyn, Esq; Archbishop Tenison, the survivor of these, nominated and appointed for trustees Richard Earl of Burlington; Dr. Edmund Gibson, then Archdeacon of Surry, afterwards Lord Bishop of London; Dr. Charles Trimnel, then Bishop of Norwich, afterwards Bishop of Winchester; Dr. White Kennet, then Dean, afterwards Bishop of Peterborough; and Dr. Samuel Bradford, then Rector

and is deserving the most grateful acknowlegements. Engaging in this service may indeed have retarded the publication of these discourses longer than was intended: but perhaps they may be the better for the delay, since there have been more frequent occasions to review and reconsider them; and time corrects and improves works as well as generous wines, at least affords opportunities of correcting and improving them.

This work hath already been deduced to the prophecies of Daniel: and as some time and pains have been employed in explaining some parts of his prophecies, and more will be taken in explaining other parts; it may be proper, before we proceed, to consider the principal objections which have been made to the genuinness of the book of Daniel. It was before asserted, that the first who called in question the truth and authenticity of Daniel's prophecies, was the famous Porphyry, who maintained that they were written about the time of Antiochus Epiphanes: but he was amply refuted by (2) Jerome, and hath been and will be more amply refuted still in the course of these dissertations. A modern infidel hath followed Porphyry's example, and in his *Scheme of litteral prophecy* hath heaped together all that he could find or invent against the book of Daniel, and hath comprised the whole in eleven objections, in order to show that the book was written about the time of the Maccabees: but he likewise hath been refuted to the satisfaction of every intelligent and impartial reader; as indeed there never were any arguments urged in favor of infidelity, but better were always produced in support of truth. The substance of his (3) objections and of the

of St. Mary Le Bow, afterwards Bishop of Rochester. The Earl of Burlington, being the only surviving trustee, appointed to succeed him in the said trust, William then Marquis of Hartington, now Duke of Devonshire, Dr. Thomas Sherlock Lord Bishop of London, Dr. Martin Benson Lord Bishop of Gloucester, Dr. Thomas Secker Lord Bishop of Oxford, now Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Honorable Richard Arundell, Esq; of whom Bishop Benson died before, and Mr. Arundell since the appointment of the present lecturer.

(2) Hieron. Comment. in Dan. Vol. 3. Edit. Benedict.

(3) See Collin's Scheme of litteral Prophecy, p. 147—157. Bp. Chandler's Vindication, p. 4—157. Sam. Chandler's Vindication, p. 3—60.

answers to him may with truth and candor be represented in the following manner.

1. It is objected that the famous Daniel mentioned by Ezekiel could not be the author of the book of Daniel; because Ezekiel who prophesied in the *fifth year of Jehoiakim* king of Judah, implies Daniel at that time to be a person in years; whereas the book of Daniel speaks of Daniel at that time as a youth. But here the objector is either ignorantly or wilfully guilty of gross misrepresentation. For Ezekiel did not prophesy *in the fifth year of Jehoiakim,* nor in the reign of Jehoiakim at all; but he began to prophecy in the *fifth year of king Jehoiachin's captivity,* the son and successor of Jehoiakim, (Ezek. i. 2.) that is eleven years after. When Daniel was first carried into captivity, he might be a youth (4) about eighteen: but when Ezekiel magnified his piety and wisdom, (Chap. xiv. and xxviii.) he was between thirty and forty: and several years before that he had interpreted Nebuchadnezzar's dream, and was advanced (Dan. ii. 48.) to be *ruler over the whole province of Babylon, and chief of the governors over all the wise men of Babylon;* and was therefore very fit and worthy to be celebrated by his fellow-captive Ezekiel.

2. His second objection is, that Daniel is represented in the book of Daniel as living chiefly at the courts of the kings of Babylon and Persia; and yet the names of the several kings of his time are all mistaken in the book of Daniel. It is also more suited to a fabulous writer than to a contemporary historian, to talk of *Nebuchadnezzar's dwelling with the beasts of the field, and eating grass like oxen,* &c. and then returning again to the government of his kingdom. Here are two objections confounded in one. As to the mistake of the kings names, there are only four kings mentioned in the book of Daniel, Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar, Darius the Mede, and Cyrus. Of the first and the last there was never any doubt; and the other two may be rightly named, tho' they are named differently by the Greek historians, who

(4) Prideaux's Connection. Part 1. B. 1.

yet differ as much one from another as from Daniel. It is well known that the eastern monarchs had several names; and one might be made use of by one writer, another by another. It is plainly begging the question, to presume without farther proof, that Daniel was not the oldest of these writers, and had not better opportunities of knowing the names than any of them. As to the case of Nebuchadnezzar, it is related indeed in the prophetic figurative stile. It is the interpretation of a dream, and stript of its figures the plain meaning is, that Nebuchadnezzar should be punished with madness, should fancy himself a beast and live like a beast, should be *made to eat grass as oxen*, be obliged to live upon a vegetable diet, but after some time should recover his reason, and resume the government. And what is there fabulous or absurd in this? The dream was not of Daniel's inditing, but was told by Nebuchadnezzar himself. The dream is in a poetic strain, and so likewise is the interpretation, the better to show how the one corresponded with the other, and how the prophecy and event agreed together.

3. He objects that the book of Daniel could not be written by that Daniel who was carried captive in the Babylonish captivity, because it abounds with derivations from the Greek, which language was unknown to the Jews till long after the captivity. The assertion is false that the book of Daniel *abounds* with derivations from the Greek. There is an affinity only between some few words in the Greek and the Chaldee language; and why must they be derived the one from the other? or if derived, why should not the Greeks derive them from the Chaldee, rather than the Chaldees from the Greek? If the words in question could be shown to be of Greek extraction, yet there was some communication between the eastern kingdoms and the colonies of the Greeks settled in Asia Minor before Nebuchadnezzar's time; and so some particular terms might pass from the Greek into the oriental languages. But on the contrary the words in question are shown to be not of Greek but of eastern derivation; and consequently passed from the east

to the Greeks, rather than from the Greeks to the east. Most of the words are names of musical instruments; and the Greeks (5) acknowlege that they received their music from the eastern nations, from whence they themselves originally descended.

4. It doth not appear, says the objector, that the book of Daniel was translated into Greek, when the other books of the Old Testament were, which are attributed to the Seventy; the present Greek version, inserted in the Septuagint, being taken from Theodotion's translation of the Old Testament made in the second century after Christ. But it doth appear, that there was an ancient Greek version of Daniel, which is attributed to the Seventy, as well as the version of the other books of the Old Testament. It is cited by Clemens Romanus, Justin Martyr, and many of the ancient fathers. It was inserted in Origen, and filled a column of his Hexapla. It is quoted several times by Jerome; and he saith (6) expresly, that the version of the Seventy was repudiated by the doctors of the church, and that of Theodotion substituted in the room of it, because it came nearer to the Hebrew verity. This version hath also been lately published from an ancient M.S. discovered in the Chighian library at Rome.

(5) Καὶ τῳ Διονυσῳ την Ασιαν ὁλην καθιερωσαντες μεχρι της Ἰνδικης, ἐκειθεν καὶ την ὁλλην μουσικην μεταφερουσι. Et cum Baccho totam Asiam ad Indiam usque consecraverint, magnam quoque musicæ partem inde transferunt. ['And having consecrated to Bacchus the whole of Asia, as far as to India, they borrow from thence a considerable part of their music.'] Strabo, Lib. 10. p. 471. Edit. Paris. 1620. p. 722. Edit. Amstel. 1707. Vide etiam Athenæi Lib. 14. p. 625, &c.

(6) Danielem prophetam juxta Septuaginta interpretes Domini Salvatoris ecclesiæ non legunt, utentes Theodotionis editione:——quod multum a veritate discordet, et recto judicio repudiatus sit. ['The churches of our Lord and Saviour do not read the prophecies of Daniel according to the Septuagint, but make use of the version of Theodotion; because the former is at great variance with the truth, and is rejected with great propriety.'] Hieron. Præf. in Dan. Vol. 1. p. 987. Judicio magistrorum ecclesiæ editio eorum [LXX] repudiata est, et Theodotionis vulgo legitur, quæ et Hebræo, et cæteris translatoribus congruit, &c. ['According to the judgment of the masters of the church, their version [that of the LXX] has been rejected, and that of Theodotion is commonly read: which agrees better with the Hebrew, and other translations.'] Comment. in Dan. IV. Col. 1088. Vol. 3. Edit. Benedict.

5. It is objected that divers matters of fact are spoken of with the clearness of history, to the times of Antiochus Epiphanes, who is very particularly dwelt upon, and that with great and seeming fresh resentment for his barbarous usage of the Jews: And this clearness determined Porphyry, and would determin any one to think, that the book was written about the times of Antiochus Epiphanes, the author appearing to be well acquainted with things down to the death of Antiochus but not farther. But what an argument is this against the book of Daniel? His prophecies are clear, and therefore are no prophecies: as if an all knowing God could not foretel things clearly; or as if there were not many predictions in other prophets, as clear as any in Daniel. If his prophecies extend not lower than the times of Antiochus Epiphanes, his commission might be limited there, and he would not go beyond his commission. But it hath been shown, and will be shown, that there are several prophecies in Daniel relating to times long after the death of Antiochus, and these prophecies are as clear as those before the death of Antiochus. Neither is Antiochus so very particularly dwelt upon as is commonly imagined; neither is he spoken of with greater resentment, than other prophets express towards the kings of Assyria and Babylon. All honest men, who love liberty and their country, must speak with indignation of tyrants and oppressors.

6. His sixth objection is, that Daniel is omitted among the prophets recited in Ecclesiasticus, where it seems proper to have mentioned him as a Jewish prophet-author, had the book under his name been received as canonical, when Ecclesiasticus was published. It might have been proper to have mentioned him, had the author been giving a complete catalogue of the Jewish canonical writers. But that is not the case. He mentions several who never pretended to be inspired writers, and omits others who really were so. No mention is made of Job and Ezra, and of the books under their names, as well as of Daniel; and who can account for the silence of authors in any particular at this distance

of time? Daniel is proposed (1 Macc. ii. 60.) as a pattern by the father of the Maccabees, and his wisdom is highly recommended by Ezekiel: and these are sufficient testimonies of his antiquity, without the confirmation of a later writer.

7. It is objected, that Jonathan, who made the Chaldee paraphrases on the prophets, has omitted Daniel: from whence it should seem, the book of Daniel was not of that account with the Jews, as the other books of the prophets were. But there are other books, which were always accounted canonical among the Jews, and yet have no Chaldee paraphrases extant, as the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. Jonathan might perhaps not make a Targum or Chaldee paraphrase on Daniel, because half of the book is written in Chaldee. Or he might have made a Targum on Daniel, and that Targum may have been lost, as other ancient Targums have been destroyed by the injury of time; and there are good proofs in the Misna and other writers cited by Bishop Chandler, that there was an ancient Targum on Daniel. But tho' Jonathan made no Targum on Daniel, yet in his interpretation of other prophets, he frequently applies the prophecies of Daniel, as fuller and clearer in describing the same events; and consequently Daniel was in his esteem a prophet, and at least of equal authority with those before him. The ranking of Daniel among the Hagiographa, and not among the prophets, was done by the Jews since Christ's time for very obvious reasons. He was always esteemed a prophet by the ancient Jewish church. Our Saviour calleth him *Daniel the prophet;* and Josephus (7) speaketh of him as one of the greatest of the prophets.

8. That part of Daniel, says the objector, which is written in Chaldee, is near the stile of the old Chaldee paraphrases; which being composed many hundred years after Daniel's time, must have a very different stile from that used in his time, as any one may judge from

(7) Josephi Antiq. Lib. 10. Cap. 10, et 11.

the nature of language, which is in a constant flux, and in every age deviating from what it was in the former: And therefore that part could not be written at a time very remote from the date of the eldest of those Chaldee paraphrases. But by the same argument Homer cannot be so ancient an author, as he is generally reputed, because the Greek language continued much the same many hundred years after his time. Nay the stile of Daniel's Chaldee differs more from that of the old Chaldee paraphrases, than Homer doth from the latest of the Greek classic writers: and when it was said by Prideaux and Kidder, whose authority the objector alleges, that the old Chaldee paraphrases came near to the Chaldee of Daniel, it was not said absolutely but comparatively, with respect to other paraphrases, which did not come near to Daniel's purity.

9. It is objected that the Jews were great composers of books under the names of their renowned prophets, to do themselves honor, and particularly under the name of Daniel: and the book of Daniel seems composed to do honor to the Jews, in the person of Daniel, in making a Jew superior to all the wise men of Babylon. If there is any force in this objection, it is this. There have been books counterfeited under the names of men of renown, therefore there can be no genuin books of the same men. Some pieces in Greek have been forged under the name of Daniel, and therefore he wrote no books in Chaldee and Hebrew long before those forgeries. In like manner some poems have been ascribed to Homer and Virgil, which were not of their composing; and therefore the one did not compose the Iliad, nor the other the Æneid. Some false writings have been attributed to St. Peter and St. Paul; and therefore there are no true writings of those apostles. Such arguments sufficiently expose and refute themselves. One would think the inference should rather lie on the other side. Some books have been counterfeited in the name of this or that writer; and therefore that there were some genuin books of his writing, is a much more probable presumption than the contrary.

10. The tenth objection is, that the author of the book of Daniel appears plainly to be a writer of things past, after a prophetical manner, by his uncommon punctuality, by not only foretelling things to come, like other prophets, but fixing the time when the things were to happen. But other prophets and other prophecies have prefixed the times for several events; as 120 years for the continuance of the antediluvian world; 400 years for the sojourning of Abraham's seed in a strange land; 40 years for the peregrination of the children of Israel; 65 years for Ephraim's continuing a people; 70 years for the desolation of Tyre; 70 years for Judah's captivity; and the like: and therefore the fixing of the times cannot be a particular objection against the prophecies of Daniel. Daniel may have done it in more instances than any other prophet: but why might not God, if he was so pleased, foretel the dates and periods of any events, as well as the events themselves? Josephus, whom the objector hath quoted upon this occasion, differs totally from him. He (8) ascribes this punctuality to divine revelation, not like the objector, to the late composition of the book. He infers from it that Daniel was one of the greatest prophets, not like the objector, that he was no prophet at all.

Lastly it is objected, that the book of Daniel sets forth facts very imperfectly, and often contrary to other historical relations, and the whole is written in a dark and emblematical stile, with images and symbols unlike the books of other prophets, and taken from the schools of the Greeks. As to Daniel's setting forth facts very imper-

(8) Τα γαρ βιβλια, ὁσα δη συγγεγραψαμενος, καταλελοιπεν, αναγινωσκεται παρ' ἡμιν ετι και νυν· και πεπιστευκαμεν εξ αυτων, ὁτι Δανιηλος ὡμιλει τῳ Θεῳ. ου γαρ τα μελλοντα μονον προφητευων διετελει, καθαπερ, και οἱ αλλοι προφηται, αλλα και καιρον ὡριζεν, εις ὁν ταυτα αποβησεται. Libri enim quotquot a se conscriptos reliquit, leguntur hodieque apud nos: atque ii nobis fidem faciunt, Danielum eum Deo colloquia habuisse. Non enim futura solum, quemadmodum et alii vates, prædicere solebat, sed et tempus, quo hæc eventura erant, præfinivit. ['For whatever books he hath left written by him, are read even to this day among us; and from these we are persuaded that Daniel enjoyed familiar intercourse with God. For he not only foretold future things, as other prophets also did, but he also assigned the time of their accomplishment.'] Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 10. Cap. 11. Sect. 7. p. 465. Edit. Hudson.

fectly, he is perfect enough for his design, which was not to write a history but prophecies, and history only so far as it relates to his prophecies. As to his writing contrary to other historical relations, it is false. For most of the main facts related by him are confirmed even by heathen historians: but if he contradicted them, yet he would deserve more credit, as he was more ancient than any of them, and lived in the times whereof he wrote. As to his emblems being unlike the books of other prophets, and taken from the schools of the Greeks, this is also false. For the like emblems are often used by other prophets, and are agreeable to the stile and genius of all the eastern writers of his time. They were so far from being taken from the schools of the Greeks, that on the contrary, if they were ever used by the Greeks, the Greeks borrowed them from the oriental writers. But after all how doth this last objection consist and agree with the fifth and tenth? There *divers matters of fact were spoken of with the clearness of history,* and the author was convicted of forgery by *his uncommon punctuality.* Here *all is dark and emblematical, imperfect and contrary to other histories.* Such objections contradict and destroy one another. Both may be false, both cannot be true.

These objections being removed, what is there wanting of external or internal evidence to prove the genuinness and authenticity of the book of Daniel? There is all the external evidence that can well be had or desired in a case of this nature; not only the testimony of the whole Jewish church and nation, who have constantly received this book as canonical; but of Josephus particularly, who recommends him as the greatest of the prophets; of the Jewish Targums and Talmuds, which frequently cite and appeal to his authority; of St. Paul and St. John, who have copied many of his prophecies; of our Saviour himself, who citeth his words and stileth him *Daniel the prophet;* of ancient historians, who relate many of the same transactions; of the mother of the seven sons and of the father of the Maccabees, who both recommend the example of Daniel to their sons;

of old Eleazar in Egypt, who praying for the Jews, then suffering under the persecution of Ptolemy Philopater, (3 Macc. vi. 6, 7.) mentions the deliverance of Daniel out of the den of lions, together with the deliverance of the three men out of the fiery furnace; of the Jewish high-priest, who showed Daniel's prophecies to Alexander the Great, while he was at Jerusalem; and still higher, of Ezekiel, a contemporary writer, who greatly extols his *piety* and *wisdom*. Nor is the internal less powerful and convincing than the external evidence; for the language, the stile, the manner of writing, and all other internal marks and characters are perfectly agreeable to that age; and he appears plainly and undeniably to have been a prophet by the exact accomplishment of his prophecies, as well those which have been already fulfilled, as those which are now fulfilling in the world.

The genuinness and authenticity of the book of Daniel being therefore established beyond all reasonable contradiction, we may now proceed in our main design; and the vision of the ram and he-goat, and the prophecy of the things noted in the scripture of truth, and the transactions of the kings of the north and the south, will find sufficient matter for our meditations this year. Another year will be fully employed on our Saviour's prophecies of the destruction of Jerusalem and the dispersion of the Jews, together with St. Paul's prophecies of the Man of Sin, and of the apostasy of the latter times. The last and most difficult task of all will be an analysis or explication of the Apocalyps or Revelation of St. John. It is a hazardous attempt, in our little bark, to venture on that dangerous ocean, where so many stouter vessels and abler pilots have been shipwracked and lost: but possibly we may be the better able to sail through it, coming prepared, careened and sheathed as I may say for such a voyage, by the assistance of the former prophets, having particularly Daniel and St. Paul as our pole star and compass, and begging withall of God's holy Spirit to steer and direct our course. The conclusion will consist of reflexions and

and inferences from the whole. In this manner with the divine assistance, shall be employed the three years, which is the period usually allotted to these exercises; and it is hoped that the design of the honourable founder will in some measure be answered by proving the truth of revelation from the truth of prophecy. It was indeed a noble design after a life spent in the study of philosophy, and equally devoted to the service of religion, to benefit posterity not only by his own useful and numerous writings, theological as well as philosophical, but also by engaging the thoughts and pens of others in defense of natural and revealed religion; and some of the best treatises on these subjects in the English language, or indeed in any language, are owing to his institution. This is continuing to do good even after death; and what was said of Abel's faith, may also be said of his, that *by it he being dead, yet speaketh.*

From the instance of this excellent person, and some others who might be mentioned, it appears that there is nothing inconsistent in science and religion, but a great philosopher may be a good Christian. True philosophy is indeed the handmaid of true religion: and the knowlege of the works of nature will lead one to the knowlege of the God of nature, *the invisible things of him being clearly seen by the things which are made; even his eternal power and godhead.* They are only minute philosophers, who are sceptics and unbelievers. Smatterers in science, they are but smatterers in religion. Whereas the most eminent philosophers, those who have done honor to the nation, done honour to human nature itself, have also been believers and defenders of revelation, have studied scripture as well as nature, have searched after God in his word as well as in his works, and have even made comments on several parts of holy writ. So just and true is the observation of the (9) Lord Bacon, one of the illustrious persons here intended: "A "little philosophy inclineth man's mind to atheism, but "depth in philosophy bringeth men's minds about to re-"ligion."

(9) Lord Bacon's Essays, XVII.

XV.

DANIEL'S VISION OF THE RAM AND HE-GOAT.

HITHERTO the prophecies of Daniel, that is from the fourth verse of the second chapter to the eighth chapter, are written in Chaldee. As they greatly concerned the Chaldæans, so they were published in that language. But the remaining prophecies are written in Hebrew, because they treat altogether of affairs subsequent to the times of the Chaldæans, and no ways relate to them, but principally to the church and people of God. Which is a plain proof, that the scriptures were originally written in such a manner as they might be best understood by the people: and consequently it is defeating the very end and design of writing them to *take away the key of knowledge*, and to keep them locked up in an unknown tongue. We may observe too that in the former part of the book of Daniel he is too generally spoken of in the third person, but in the latter part he speaketh of himself in the first person, which is some kind of proof that this part was written by himself if the other was not, but probably this diversity might arise from the different dates, the one being written some time after the other.

Daniel's former vision of the four great beasts, representing the four great empires of the world, was (vii. 1.) *in the first year of Belshazzar king of Babylon.* He had another vision in the *third* year of the reign of the same king Belshazzar, that is (1) about 553 years before Christ. (viii. 1.) *In the third year of the reign of king Belshazzar, a vision appeared unto me, even unto me Daniel, after that which appeared unto me at the first.* It was exhibited to him (ver. 2.) at the palace in Shushan, and by the side of the river *Ulai*, or *Eulæus*, as it is

(1) See Usher, Prideaux, and other chronologers.

called by the Greeks and Romans. *And I saw in a vision, (and it came to pass when I saw, that I was at Shushan, in the palace, which is in the province of Elam) and I saw in a vision, and I was by the river Ulai.* So likewise the prophet Ezekiel saw visions by the river Chebar; as if the holy Spirit had delighted to manifest himself in such retired scenes; and the gifts and graces of the Spirit are often in scripture language described by the metaphors of springs and streams of water, than which nothing was more agreeable and refeshing in hot and dry countries.

Such was the time and place of the vision. The vision itself was of a ram and he-goat. And we may observe with the learned (2) Bochart that others also have had like visions, portending future events. So Plutarch reports in the life of Sylla, that two great goats were seen fighting in Campania, and suddenly the vision vanished: not long afterwards in that very place Sylla having routed and slain seven thousand men, besieged the consul in Capua. In the Brutus of Accius, which is cited by Cicero in his first book of Divination, Tarquinus Superbus relates his dream, "that a shepherd drove his flock to him; two rams of the same breed were selected from thence, both choice and beautiful, and he killed the finer of them; the other rushed upon him with his

(2) Observemus etiam aliis apparuisse visiones hujusmodi, quæ futura portenderent. Ita, Plutarcho teste in vita Syllæ, *In Campania, circa Tiphaton montem* (qui aliis Tifata) *interdiu visi sunt confligere magni hirci duo, et ea omnia facere et pati, quæ viri in pugna solent.* Spectrum autem e terra sensim elatum, paulo post dissipatum, et ex oculis elapsum, est. Nec multo post Sylla, Mario Juniore et Norbano consule, in eo ipso loco fusis, et profligatis, et cæsis hominum septem millibus, consulem inclusit Capuæ. Et in Accii Bruto, qui a Cicerone citatur libro primo De Divinatione, Tarquinius superbus suum hoc somnium narrat.

Visum est in somnis pastorem ad me appellere
Pecus lanigerum eximia pulchritudine,
Duos consanguineos arietes indo eligi,
Præclarioremque alterum immolare me:
Deinde ejus germanum cornibus conitier
In me arietare, eoque me ad casum dari:
Exin prostratum terra graviter saucium,
Resupinum, in cœlo contueri maximum, &c.

Hi arietes consanguinei L. Junium Brutum, et fratrem ejus a Tarquinio cæsum significabant; quorum ille, in Tarquinium insurgens, eum regno suo spoliavit.' [Translated in the text.] Bocharti Hierozoic. Pars. Prior. Lib. 2. Cap. 46. Col. 527.'

horns, and cast him down and wounded him." These rams of the same breed signified Lucius Junius Brutus and his brother; one of whom was slain by Tarquin, and the other rose against Tarquin, and despoiled him of his kingdom. So that the probabilities of the poets and historians bear some resemblance to the realities of holy writ. Or rather, in this instance of prophecy, as in the ceremonials of religion and the modes of government, God was pleased to condescend and conform to the customs and manners of the age, to make thereby a stronger impression on the minds of the people. Nor is such a condescension unworthy of the deity, nor unsuitable to the other methods of his providence, but is rather an argument of his infinite goodness.

In the former vision there appeared four beasts, because there were four empires represented: but here are only two, because here we have a representation of what was transacted chiefly within two empires. The first of the four empires, that is the Babylonian, is wholly omitted here, for its fate was sufficiently known, and it was now drawing very near to a conclusion. The second empire in the former vision, is the first in this; and what was there compared to a bear, is here prefigured by a ram. *Then I lifted up mine eyes,* saith Daniel, (ver. 3.) *and saw, and behold, there stood before the river, a ram which had two horns, and the two horns were high; but one was higher than the other, and the higher came up last.* The ram, with two horns, according to the explanation of the angel Gabriel, was the empire of the Medes and Persians; (ver. 20.) *The ram which thou sawest having two horns, are the kings* or kingdoms *of Media and Persia.* The source of this figure of *horns* for *kingdoms,* as a (3)

(3) Quam melius itaque ex linguis orientis potuisset hujus rei fons erui? quibus, ut id est jam contritum, eadem voce *cornu, corona, potentia* ac *splendor* nuncupantur. Unde *cornu,* regium insigne apud Phœnices, et Hebræorum קרן seu *cornu* Chaldæis interpretibus aliquoties מלכותא seu *regnum* redditur, ut vidit illustris Grotius; et *cornua* pro *regno* et *regibus* passim in veteri fœdere. ['How much better may the origin of this figure be derived from eastern languages? In which, as is well known, the same word is made use of to denote *a horn, a crown, power* and *splendor.* Whence among the Phœnicians, *a horn* was an ensign of royalty; and the Hebrew word קרן or *horn,* is sometimes by the Chaldee interpreters rendered מלכותא or *kingdom,* as

learned writer observes, must be derived from the oriental languages in which the same word signifies a *horn*, and a *crown*, and *power*, and *splendor*. Whence a *horn* was an ensign of royalty among the Phenicians, and the Hebrew word קרן *keren* or a *horn*, is several times by Chaldee paraphrasts rendered מלכותא *malchutha*, or a *kingdom*; and *horns* are frequently used for *kings* and *kingdoms* in the Old Testament. This empire therefore, which was formed by the conjunction of the Medes and Persians, and is often called the Medo-Persian, was not unfitly represented by a ram *with two horns*. Cyrus, the founder of this empire, was (4) son of Cambyses king of Persia, and by his mother Mandane was grandson of Astyages king of Media; and afterwards marrying the daughter and only child of his uncle Cyaxares king of Media, he succeeded to both crowns, and united the kingdoms of Media and Persia. It was a coalition of two very formidable powers, and therefore it is said that *the two horns were high: but one*, it is added, *was higher than the other, and the higher came up last*. The kingdom of Media was the more ancient of the two, and more famous in history; Persia was of little note or account till the time of Cyrus: but under Cyrus the Persians gained and maintained the ascendent; some (5) authors say that Cyrus subdued the king of the Medes by force of arms: and his son (6) Cambyses on his deathbed earnestly exhorted the Persians not to suffer the kingdom to return again to the Medes. But a question still remains, why that empire, which was before likened to a *bear* for its cruelty, should now be represented by a *ram*? Mr. Mede's conjecture is ingenious and plausible enough, (7) that the Hebrew word for a *ram*, and the

the illustrious Grotius hath remarked: and every where in the Old Testament *horns* are used to signify *kingdoms* and *kings*.'] Spanheim de Usu Numismatum. Vol I. Diss. 7. p. 400.

(4) Xenophon Cyropæd. Lib. 1. et 8.

(5) Herod. Lib. 1. Sect 130. p. 56. Edit. Gale. Strabo. Lib. 15. p. 730. Edit. Paris 1620. p. 1062. Ed. Amstel. 1707. Justin. Lib. 1. Cap. 6.

(6) Herod. Lib. 3. Sect. 65. p. 188. Edit. Gale.

(7) ——quis suspicari possit etiam *arietis* de rege Persarum in eadem visione typum, ad nominis *Elam* (quod alterum duorum est quo ea gens appelletur) significatum alludere. איל enim Hebræis (unde nomen איל *aries*) et

Hebrew word for *Persia*, both springing from the same root, and both implying something of strength, the one is not improperly made the type of the other. The propriety of it appears farther from hence, as is suggested likewise by another writer in the general preface to Mr. Mede's works, that it was usual for the king of Persia to wear a ram's head made of gold, and adorned with precious stones, instead of a diadem; for so (8) Ammianus Marcellinus describes him. Bishop Chandler and others farther (9) observe, that "rams heads with horns, one "higher and the other lower, are still to be seen on the "pillars at Persepolis."

The great exploits of the ram are recapitulated in the next verse. (ver. 4.) *I saw the ram pushing westward and northward and southward, so that no beasts might stand before him, neither was there any that could deliver out of his hand, but he did according to his will, and became great.*

Under Cyrus himself, the Persians pushed their conquests *westward* (1) as far as the Ægean sea and the bounds of Asia: *northward* they subdued (2) the Armenians, Cappadocians, and various other nations: *southward* they conquered Egypt, if not under Cyrus as (3) Xenophon affirms, yet most certainly under (4) Cambyses,

אלם atque עלם Chaldæis, idem significant, nempe *fortem* seu *robustum esse*. Forte igitur עילם *Elam* istis, ut illis איל *arietem* sonabat, indéque rex *Elam* hoc typo Danieli figuratur. [' Who could have thought, that in the same vision *a ram* which is employed as a type of the king of the Persians, should have an allusion to the meaning of the world *Elam*, which is one of the names given to that people. For the Hebrew word איל, from whence comes איל, *a ram*;—and the Chaldee words אלם and עלם signify the same thing, namely *to be powerful* or *robust*. And perhaps עילם signified the same in Chaldee, which איל doth in Hebrew, namely *a ram*, for this reason the king of *Elam* might be represented to Daniel under this type.'] Mede's Works. B. 3. Com. Apoc. p. 474.

(8) —— aureum capitis arietini figmentum interstinctum lapillis pro diademate gestans. [' Wearing a device, in the shape of a ram's head, set with precious stones, instead of a crown.'] Amm. Marcell. Lib. 19. Cap. 1. p. 208. Edit. Valesii. Paris 1681.

(9) Bp. Chandler's Vindication, Chap. 1. Sect. 4. p. 154. Aries item bicornis inter rudera Persepoleos. [' A ram with two horns is to be seen amidst the ruins of Persepolis.'] Wetstein in Rev. XIII. 11.

(1) Herod. Lib. 1. Xenophon. Cyropæd. Lib. 7.

(2) Xenoph. ibid. Lib. 3. et 7.

(3) Xenoph. ibid. Lib. 1. et 8.

(4) Herod. Lib. 3.

the son and successor of Cyrus. Under Darius they subdued (5) India, but in the prophecy no mention is made of their conquests in the *east*, because those countries lay very remote from the Jews and were of little concern or consequence to them. The ram was strong and powerful, *so that no beasts might stand before him, neither was there any that could deliver out of his hand;* that is none of the neighbouring kingdoms were able to contend with the Persians, but all fell under their dominion. *He did according to his will, and became great:* and the Persian empire was increased and inlarged to such a degree, that it extended (Esther i. 1.) *from India even unto Ethiopia, over an hundred and seven and twenty provinces;* so that seven provinces were added to the hundred and twenty (Dan. vi. 1.) which it contained in the time of Cyrus.

After the ram the he-goat appears next upon the scene. *And as I was considering,* saith Daniel, (ver. 5.) *behold, an he-goat came from the west on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground: and the goat had a notable horn between his eyes.* Which is thus interpreted by the angel Gabriel, (ver. 21.) *The rough goat is the king of Grecia, and the great horn that is between his eyes, is the first king,* or kingdom. A *goat* is very properly made the type of the Grecian or Macedonian empire, because the Macedonians at first, about two hundred years before Daniel, were denominated *Ægeadæ* or *the goat's people;* and upon this occasion, as heathen authors report. Caranus, their first king, going with a great multitude of Greeks to seek new habitations in Macedonia, was commanded by the oracle to take the goats for his guides to empire: and afterwards seeing a herd of goats flying from a violent storm, he followed them to Edessa, and there fixed the seat of his empire, made the goats his ensigns or standards, and called the city *Ægeæ* or *the goat's town,* and the people *Ægeadæ* or *the goat's people.* This observation is likewise owing to the most excellent Mr. Mede (6): and to this may be

(5) Herod. Lib. 4. Cap. 44. p. 239. Edit. Gale.

(6) Nec deesse videtur hujusmodi allusionis exemplum apud Danielem, cap. 8. ubi Macedones, qui tunc temporis *Ægeades* (hoc est, *Caprini*) dice-

added that the city Ægeæ or Ægæ was the (7) usual burying-place of the Macedonian kings. It is also very remarkable, that Alexander's son by Roxana was named Alexander *Ægus* or *the son of the goat;* and (8) some of Alexander's successors are represented in their coins with *goat's horns.* This he-goat *came from the west:* and who is ignorant that Europe lieth westward of Asia? He came *on the face of the whole earth,* carrying every thing before him in all the three parts of the world then known: *and he touched not the ground,* his marches were so swift and his conquests so rapid that he might be said

bantur, typo *caprarum*, rexque hirci figura designatur. *Ecce*, inquit, *hircus caprarum* (id est, caprarum maritus) *venit ab occidente, &c.* Iunuit autem Alexandrum magnum, *Ægeadum* regem. Illi Macedones sunt. Ita enim gens ista vocabatur quà prima regni sedes erat, a Carano conditore, ducentis plus minus ante Danielem annis. Occasionem nominis ex Trogo refert epitomator Justinus Lib. 7. cujus verba ascribere non gravabor. "Caranus, "inquit, cum magna multitudine Græcorum, sedes in Macedonia responso "oraculi jussus quærere, cum in Æmathiam venisset, urbem Edessam non "sentientibus oppidanis propter imbrium et nebulæ magnitudinem, gregem "caprarum imbrem fugientium secutus occupavit: revocatusque in memo-"riam oraculi, quo jussus erat ducibus capris imperium quærere, regni se-"dem statuit; religioséque postea observavit, quocunque agmen moveret, "ante signa easdem capras habere, cæptorum duces habiturus quas regni "habuerat authores. Urbem Edessam ob memoriam muneris *Ægeas*, po-"pulum *Ægeadas* vocavit." ['Nor does there seem to be wanting an instance of an allusion of this kind, in Dan. viii. where the Macedonians, who at that time were called *Ægeadæ*, (that is goat's people,) are pointed out under the type of goats, and their king marked out by the figure of a he-goat. "*Behold,*" saith he, "*an he-goat came from the west,*" &c. He means Alexander the Great, the king of the *Ægeadæ*. These are the Macedonians. For so that nation was called, from the place where the first seat of their kingdom was, from their founder, Caranus, about two hundred years before the time of Daniel. The occasion of this name is related by Justin the abridger of Trogus, Book VII. whose words I shall quote: 'Caranus,' he saith, 'with a great multitude of Greeks, having been ordered by the oracle, to seek a place of residence in Macedon, came into Æmathia, and following a flock of goats that were running to shelter themselves from a shower of rain, he entered into, and made himself master of Edessa, the inhabitants of that town not perceiving his approach by reason of the greatness of the fog and rain. Then calling the oracle to remembrance, which ordered him to go in quest of a kingdom, having goats for his leaders, he made that city the seat of his government. Afterwards whenever he took the field, he was careful to make use of the figures of goats on his standards, that he might have them to favour his enterprizes, which had paved the way for laying the foundation of his kingdom. To perpetuate the remembrance of the favour done to him, he called the city of Edessa, by the name of *Ægæ*, and his people *Ægeadæ*, &c.'] Vide cætera. Mede's Works, B. 3. Com. Apoc. p. 473, 474.

(7) Plin. Lib. 4. Cap. 10. Sect. 17. p. 200. Edit. Harduin. Vide etiam notas Harduini.

(8) Spanheim de Usu Numismatum. Vol. 1. Dissert. 7. p. 389, et 399.

in a manner to fly over the ground without touching it. For the same reason the same empire in the former vision was likened to *a leopard,* which is a swift nimble animal, and to denote the greater quickness and impetuosity, *to a leopard with four wings. And the goat had a notable horn between his eyes;* this horn, saith the angel, *is the first king,* or kingdom of the Greeks in Asia, which was erected by Alexander the Great, and continued for some years in his brother Philip Aridæus, and his two younger sons Alexander Ægus and Hercules. Dean Prideaux, speaking of the swiftness of Alexander's marches, hath a (9) passage, which is very pertinent to our present purpose. "He flew with victory swifter than "others can travel, often with his horse pursuing his "enemies upon the spur whole days and nights, and "sometimes making long marches for several days one "after the other, as once he did in pursuit of Darius of "near forty miles a day for eleven days together. So "that by the speed of his marches he came upon his "enemy before they were aware of him, and conquered "them before they could be in a posture to resist him. "Which exactly agreeth with the description given of "him in the prophecies of Daniel some ages before, he "being in them set forth under the similitude of a panther or leopard with four wings: for he was impetu"ous and fierce in his warlike expeditions, as a panther "after its prey, and came on upon his enemies with "that speed, as if he flew with a double pair of wings. "And to this purpose he is in another place of those "prophecies compared to an he-goat coming from the "west with that swiftness upon the king of Media and "Persia, that he seemed as if his feet did not touch the "ground. And his actions, as well in this comparison "as in the former, fully verified the prophecy.

In the two next verses we have an account of the Grecians overthrowing the Persian empire (ver. 6, 7.) *And he came to the ram that had two horns, which I had seen standing before the river, and ran unto him in the fury*

(9) Prideaux Connect. Part. 1. Book 8. Ann. 330. Alexander 2.

of his power. And I saw him come close unto the ram, and he was moved with choler against him, and smote the ram, and brake his two horns, and there was no power in the ram to stand before him, but he cast him down to the ground, and stamped upon him; and there was none that could deliver the ram out of his hand. The ram had before *pushed westward*, and the Persians in the (1) reigns of Darius Hystaspis and Xerxes had poured down with great armies into Greece; but now the Grecians in return carried their arms into Asia, and the he-goat invaded the ram that had invaded him. *And he came to the ram that had two horns, which I had seen standing before the river, and ran unto him in the fury of his power.* One can hardly read these words without having some image of Darius's army standing and guarding the river (2) Granicus, and of Alexander on the other side with his forces plunging in, swimming across the stream, and rushing on the enemy with all the fire and fury that can be imagined. It was certainly a strange rash mad attempt with only about thirty-five thousand men to attack, at such disadvantage, an army of more than five times the number: but he was successful in it, and this success diffused a terror of his name, and opened his way to the conquest of Asia. *And I saw him come close unto the ram:* he had several close engagements or set battles with the king of Persia, and particularly at the river Granicus in Phrygia, at the straits of Issus in Cilicia, and in the plains of Arbela in Assyria. *And he was moved with choler against him,* for (3) the cruelties which the Persians had exercised towards the Grecians: and for (4) Darius's attempting to corrupt sometimes

(1) Herod. Lib. 6 et 7.

(2) Arrian. de Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. Cap. 14, &c. Sic Granicum, tot millibus equitum peditumque in ulteriore stantibus ripa, superavit. ['Thus he passed the Granicus, notwithstanding so many thousands of cavalry and infantry were ranged on the opposite bank.'] Quint. Curt. Lib. 4. Cap. 9.

(3) Diod. Sic. Lib. 17. p. 599. Edit. Steph. p. 543. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod. Quint. Curt. Lib. 5. Cap. 6.

(4) Quint. Curt. Lib. 4. Cap. 11. Verum enimvero, quum modo milites meos literis ad proditionem, modo amicos ad perniciem meam pecunia solicitet: ad interuecionem mihi persequendus est, non ut justus hostis, sed ut percussor veneficus. ['But truly, since sometimes by his letters, he im-

his soldiers to betray him, and sometimes his friends to destroy him; so that he would not listen to the most advantageous offers of peace, but determined to pursue the Persian king, not as a generous and noble enemy, but as a poisoner and a murderer, to the death that he deserved. *And he smote the ram, and brake his two horns:* he subdued Persia and Media with the other provinces and kingdoms of the Persian empire; and it is memorable, that in (5) Persia he barbarously sacked and burned the royal city of Persepolis, the capital of the empire: and in (6) Media, Darius was seised and made prisoner by some of his own traitor-subjects, who not long afterwards basely murdered him. *And there was no power in the ram to stand before him, but he cast him down to the ground, and stamped upon him;* he conquered wherever he came, routed all the forces, took all the cities and castles, and entirely subverted and ruined the Persian empire. *And there was none that could deliver the ram out of his hand;* not even his numerous armies could defend the king of Persia, though his forces (7) in the battle of Issus amounted to six hundred thousand men, and (8) in that of Arbela to ten or eleven hundred thousand, whereas the (9) whole number of Alexander's was not more than forty seven thousand in either engagement. So true is the observation of the Psalmist, (xxxiii. 16.) *there is no king saved by the multitude of an host:* and especially when God hath decreed the fall of empires, then even the greatest must fall. The fortune of Alexander, of which so much hath been said; (1) Plutarch has written a whole treatise about it; the

portunes my soldiers to betray me, and at another time by means of his money, he instigates my friends to put me to death; nothing is left to me but to pursue him to destruction, not as a generous enemy, but an assassin and poisoner.']

(5) Diod. Sic. Lib. 17. ibid. Q. Curt. Lib. 5. Cap. 6 et 7.

(6) Quin. Curt. L. 5. Cap. 8. &c.

(7) Arrian. de Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Cap. 8. p. 73. Edit. Gronov. Plutarch in Alex. p. 67. Edit. Paris, 1624

(8) Plutarch in Alex. p. 682. ibid. Diod. Sic. L. 17. p. 590. Edit. Steph. p. 530. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod. Arrian. Lib. 3. Cap. 8. p. 115.

(9) Polyb. Lib. 12. Arrian. Lib. 3. Cap. 12. p. 122. Edit. Gronov.

(1) Περι της Αλεξανδρε τυχης. ['Concerning the fortune of Alexander.']

fortune of Alexander, I say, was nothing but the providence of God.

When Alexander was at Jerusalem, these prophecies were shown to him by the high-priest, according to the (2) relation of Josephus. For while Alexander lay at the siege of Tyre, he sent to Jaddua the high-priest at Jerusalem to demand provisions for his army, and the tribute that was annually paid to Darius. But the high-priest refused to comply with these demands by reason of his oath of allegiance to the king of Persia. Alexander therefore in great rage vowed to revenge himself upon the Jews: and as soon as he had taken Tyre and Gaza, he marched against Jerusalem. The high-priest in this imminent danger had recourse to God by sacrifices and supplications: and as he was directed in a vision of the night, he went forth the next day in his pontifical robes, with all the priests in their proper habits, and the people in white apparel, to meet the conqueror, and to make their submissions to him. As soon as the king saw the high-priest coming to him in this solemn procession, he advanced eagerly to meet him, and bowing down himself before him, received him with religious awe and veneration. All present were astonished at this behaviour of the king, so contrary to their expectation; and Parmenio in particular demanded the reason of it, why he whom all others adored, should pay such adoration to the Jewish high-priest. Alexander replied, that he payed not this adoration to him, but to that God whose priest he was: for while he was at Dio in Macedonia, and was meditating upon his expedition against the king of Persia, there appeared unto him in a dream this very man, and in this very habit, inviting him to come over into Asia, and promising him success in the conquest of it: and now he was assured that he had set out upon this expedition under the conduct of God, to whom therefore he paid this adoration in the person of his high-priest. Hereupon he entered Jerusalem in

(2) Josephi Antiq. Lib. 11. C. 8.

peace, and went up and offered sacrifices to God in the temple, where the high-priest produced and laid before him the prophecies of Daniel, wherein it was written that a king of Grecia should overthrow the Persian empire, which he interpreted of himself. After this he granted peculiar privileges to the Jews, and proceeded in his expedition with full confidence and assurance of success.

Some persons have rejected this account as fabulous, particularly (3) Van Dale, Mr. Moyle, and Collins, who says that it is "an entire fiction unsupported, and "inconsistent with history and chronology, and roman-"tic in its circumstances." But (4) Bishop Lloyd, Dean Prideaux, Bishop Chandler and others have sufficiently vindicated the truth of the story. Even Bayle himself, who was never thought to be over-credulous, admits the fact: and it must be said, though some things are extraordinary, yet there is nothing incredible in the whole relation. Alexander lay seven months at the siege of Tyre; in that time he might well want provisions for his army; and it is no wonder that he should send for some into Judæa, when the Tyrians themselves used to be supplied from thence. (1 Kings v. 9, 11. Ezekiel xxvii. 17. Acts xii. 20.) The fidelity of the Jews to Darius, and their regard to their oath was nothing more than they practised upon other occasions; for the same reason (5) they would not submit to Ptolemy, having taken an oath to another governor: and Ptolemy afterwards rewarded them for it in Egypt, and (6) committed the most important garrisons and places of trust to their keeping, thinking that he might safely rely upon them, who had proved themselves so steady and faithful to their former princes and governors, and particularly

(3) Van Dale Dissert. super. Aristeam, Cap. 10. Moyle's Letters to Prideaux, p. 6, &c. Vol. 2. Collin's Scheme of litteral Prophecy, p. 452.

(3) Bishop Lloyd's Letter to Dr. Sherlock. Prideaux Connect. and Answers to Mr. Moyle. Bp. Chandler's Vindication of his Defense, Chap. 2. Sect. 1. p. 176, &c. Mr. Samuel Chandler's Vindication of Daniel, p. 76, &c. Bayle's Dict. Art. MACEDO, Not. O.

(5) Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 1. p. 507. Edit. Hudson.

(6) Joseph. ibid. et contra Apion. L. 2. Sect. 4. p. 1365. Ed. Hudson.

to Darius king of Persia. That Alexander was in Judæa, I think we may collect from other authors. Arrian says, (7) that he subdued all that part of Syria which was called Palestine. Pliny affirms, (8) that the balsam-tree, which grew only in Judæa, was cut and bled a certain quantity in a day, while Alexander was waging war in those parts. Justin informs us, (9) that he went into Syria, where many princes of the east met him with their mitres; upon which passage the note of Isaac Vossius is very just and pertinent, (1) "I think that Justin had respect to that memorable history, which Josephus relates of Jaddua the high-priest of the Jews." If Alexander therefore came into Judea, as he certainly did, it was prudent in the Jews, though they refused to succour him at a distance, yet to submit to him upon his nearer approach; it was in vain to withstand the conqueror, and the terror of his name was now become very great by his victories, and especially after the dreadful execution that he had made at Tyre and at Gaza. While Alexander was at Jerusalem, it was natural enough for the high-priest to show him the prophecies of a king of Grecia overcoming the king of Persia. Nothing could be devised more likely to engage his attention, to confirm his hopes, and to conciliate his favor to the whole nation. And for his sacrificing in the temple, it is no more than (2) other heathen princes have done, it is no more than he did in other places. He

(7) Arrian. de Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Cap. 25. p. 101. Edit. Gronov. Και την αυτῳ τα μεν αλλα της Παλαιστινης καλεμενης Συριας προσκεχωρηκοτα ηδη. Et cætera quidem Syriæ, quæ Palæstina vocatur, oppida in suam potestatem adduxerat. ['And he had already brought into subjection the rest of the towns in that part of Syria called Palestine.']

(8) Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. 12. Cap. 25. Sect. 54. Edit. Harduin. Alexandro magno res ibi gerente, toto die æstivo unam concham impleri justum erat. ['While Alexander the Great was carrying on war in these parts, the quantity which exuded in a summer day was about two spoonfuls.']

(9) Tunc in Syriam proficiscitur, ubi obvios cum infulis multos orientis reges habuit. [Translated in the text.] Justin. Hist. Lib. 11. Cap. 10. Sect. 6. Edit. Grævii.

(1) Puto respicere Justinum ad memorabilem illam historiam, quam Josephus de Jaddo, summo Judæorum sacerdote, narrat. [Translated in the text.]

(2) Joseph. contra Apion. Lib. 2. Sect. 5. p. 1365. Edit. Hudson. 2 Macab. XIII. 23.

might perhaps consider God as a local deity, and offer sacrifices to him at Jerusalem, as he did to Hercules at Tyre, and to Jupiter Hammon in Egypt, and to Belus in Babylon.

What are then the great objections to the credibility of this story? it is pretended, that it is inconsistent with chronology; for Josephus places this event after the sieges of Tyre and of Gaza, whereas (3) all historians agree that Alexander went directly from Gaza to Egypt in seven days. But the best historians do not always relate facts in exact order of time, as they happened; they connect things of a sort together, and often mention later occurrences first, reserving what they think more important for the last place: and such possibly might be the intention of Josephus. Eusebius affirms, that (4) Alexander went after the siege of Tyre immediately to Jerusalem; and he might have good authority for affirming so, living as he did in Palestine; and with him agree Usher, Prideaux, and the best chronologers. And indeed it is most probable, that Alexander's progress was from Tyre to Jerusalem, and from Jerusalem to Gaza; because his resentment of the affront that he had received was then fresher in his mind, and Jerusalem lay not much out of the way from Tyre to Gaza, and it was not likely that he should leave a place of such strength and importance untaken behind him. But if Josephus was mistaken about two months in point of time, yet such a mistake is not sufficient to shake the credit of his whole relation. What historian is there almost who hath not fallen into a mistake of the like kind? And yet after all Josephus might not be mistaken, for Alexander might march against Jerusalem from Gaza, either during the siege, or after it. Arrian informs us, (5) that while the siege of Tyre was carrying on, and the machines and ships were building, Alexander with some troops of horse and other forces went into Arabia, and having reduced that part of

(3) Diod. Sic. L. 17. Q. Curtius, L. 4. Arrian. L. 3. Plutarch in Alex.

(4) Eusebii Chron. Usher's Annals, p. 214, 215. Prid. Connect. Part 1. B. 7. Anno 332. Darius 4.

(5) Arrian. de Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Cap. 20. p. 94. Edit. Gronov.

the country to his obedience partly by force, and partly by treaty, he returned to the camp in eleven days: and why might he not make such an excursion from Gaza for a few days, during the two months that his army was besieging it? or after he had taken the city, why might he not with part of the army go to Jerusalem, and leave the other part to rest themselves at Gaza? Jerusalem lay at no very great distance from Gaza, and a person of Alexander's expedition might go and return within a very few days. The historians say indeed, that he came into Egypt in seven days after he departed from Gaza; but none of them say how long he stayed at Gaza, to refresh his army after the siege. We know from (6) Diodorus, that he stayed long enough to settle the affairs of the country about Gaza; and why might he not in that time make this visit to Jerusalem?

Another objection is taken from the silence of authors, who would hardly have passed over so memorable a transaction, if there had been any truth in it: but it is not so much as mentioned by any of the heathen historians; it is supported entirely by the testimony of Josephus. But if we reject all relations, which rest upon the credit of a single historian, ancient history will be shrunk into a very narrow compass. There were numerous writers of the life and actions of Alexander, who were his companions in the wars, or lived in or near his time, as Ptolemy, Aristobulus, and others: but none of their writings have been transmitted down to us; they have all been swallowed up in the gulph between that time and this; and who can be certain that some of them did not record this transaction? It must have been mentioned by some ancient historian; for we see that Justin in a short abridgment of history is thought to have alluded to it; and some other author might have related it at large in all its circumstances. The most copious writers now extant of Alexander's affairs, are Diodorus Siculus, Quintus Curtius, Arrian, and Plutarch; but the eldest of these lived some centuries after Alexander, so that they

(9) Diod. Sic. Lib. 17. p. 588. Edit. Steph. p. 526. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod.

must have transcribed from former historians: and they have transcribed variously, as suited their particular purpose; what one hath inserted, another hath omitted; and not two of them hath related things exactly alike. There are actions and sayings of Alexander, which are omitted by them all, but yet are preserved by other authors: and no wonder then, that with the common prejudice of Greeks and Romans, they should omit some particulars of so remote and so disagreeable a people as the Jews. The affairs of each province are best related by the writers of each province. A Jew was most likely to record the particulars concerning the Jews. And Josephus, though he may have been thought credulous in some respects, yet was never charged with forging of history. His credit as an historian, will upon examination be found equal almost to the very best. Joseph Scaliger, who was an exceeding good judge in matters of this nature, (7) giveth him the character of a most faithful, a most diligent, and a most learned writer; of whom, saith he, we may boldly affirm, that not only in Jewish, but likewise in foreign affairs, we may more safely rely on his credit, than on all the Greek and Latin historians together.

There remains then no difficulty that can really stick with us, unless it be the particular interposition of God in this affair, and the prophetic dreams of Alexander and the high-priest. These things, it must be confessed, are wonderful: but if we recollect the miraculous interpositions of God in favor of his people; if we reflect what a particular providence attended Alexander, and conducted him to conquest and empire; if we consider the clear and express prophecies concerning him; these things tho' wonderful, may yet easily be reconciled to our belief, and will appear perfectly consistent with the other dispensations of divine providence. Admitting

(7) Josephus, fidissimus, diligentissimus, et eruditissimus scriptor. [Translated in the Text.] Scal. in notis ad Fragmenta Græc. p. 45. De Josepho nos hoc audacter dicimus, non solum in rebus Judaicis, sed etiam in externis tutius illi credi, quam omnibus Græcis et Latinis. [Translated in the text.] In Prolegom. de Emendatione Temporum, p. 17.

the truth of the prophecies, we cannot think these extraordinary circumstances at all incredible. These extraordinary circumstances are alleged to confirm the prophecies; and if the prophecies be found mutually to confirm these extraordinary circumstances, this is so far from weakening that it strengthens the argument. Indeed without the supposition of the truth of these circumstances, it will be extremely difficult to account for Alexander's granting so many privileges and favors to the Jews. He (8) allowed them the free exercise of their religion; he exempted their land from tribute every seventh, or the sabbatical year; he settled many of them at Alexandria with privileges and immunities equal to those of the Macedonians themselves; and when the Samaritans had revolted, and murdered the governor whom he had set over them, he assigned their country to the Jews, and exempted it in the same manner as Judea from tribute, as (9) Josephus hath proved from Alexander's own letters, and from the testimony of Hecatæus, a heathen historian. But what were the merits and services of the Jews, that they should be so favored and distinguished above other people? There is no way of accounting for it so probable, as by admitting the truth of this relation. With this all appears natural and easy, and is utterly inexplicable without it.

But to return from this digression, if it may be called a digression, to consider a point of history, that is so nearly related to our subject. Nothing is fixed and stable in human affairs; and the empire of the goat, though exceeding great, was perhaps for that reason the sooner broken into pieces. (ver. 8.) *Therefore the he-goat waxed very great, and when he was strong, the great horn was broken; and for it came up four notable ones, toward the four winds of heaven.* Which the angel thus interprets, (ver. 22.) *Now that being broken, whereas four stood up for it, four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power.* The empire of the goat was in its full strength, when Alexander died of a fever at Babylon. He was succeeded in the throne by his

(8) Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 11. Cap. 8. Sect. 5. p. 504. Edit. Hudson.
(9) Joseph. contra Apion. Lib. 2. Sect. 4. 1364, 1365. Edit. Hudson.

natural brother Philip Aridæus, and by his own two sons Alexander Ægus and Hercules: but in the space of (1) about fifteen years they were all murdered, and then the first *horn* or kingdom was entirely *broken*. The royal family being thus extinct, the (2) governors of provinces, who had usurped the power, assumed the title of kings: and by the defeat and death of Antigonus in the battle of Ipsus, they were reduced (3) to four, Cassander, Lysimachus, Ptolemy, and Seleucus, who parted Alexander's dominions between them, and divided and settled them into four kingdoms. These four kingdoms are the *four notable horns*, which came up in the room of the first great horn; and are the same as the *four heads of the leopard* in the former vision. *Four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power;* they were to be kingdoms of Grecks, not of Alexander's own family, but only of his nation; and neither were they to be equal to him in power and dominion, as an empire united is certainly more powerful than the same empire divided, and the whole is greater than any of the parts. They were likewise to extend *toward the four winds of heaven:* and in the partition of the empire (4), Cassander held Macedon, and Greece, and the *western* parts; Lysimachus had Thrace, Bithynia, and the *northern* regions; Ptolemy possessed Egypt, and the *southern* countries; and Seleucus obtained Syria and the *eastern* provinces. Thus were they divided *toward the four winds of heaven.*

As in the former vision a little horn sprang up among the ten horns of the Roman empire, so here a little

(1) See Usher, Prideaux, and the Chronologers.

(2) Diod. Sic. Lib. 20. Justin. Lib. 15. Cap. 2. Hujus honoris ornamentis tamdiu omnes abstinuerunt, quamdiu filii regis sui superesse potuerunt. Tanta in illis verecundia fuit, ut cum opes regias haberent, regum tamen nominibus æquo animo caruerint, quoad Alexandro justus hæres fuit. ['They refrained from the ensigns of this dignity, as long as any of the sons of their king survived. Such was their moderation, that though they possessed the wealth and power of kings, yet they were contented to pass without the title, so long as there was a lawful heir of Alexander alive.']

(3) Diod. Sic. Lib. 20. Polyb. Lib. 5. p. 410. Edit. Casaubon. Plutarch in Demetrio.

(4) Diod. Sic. ibid. Prid. Connect. Part. 1. B. 8. Anno. 301. Ptolemy Soter, 4.

horn is described as rising among the four horns of the Grecian empire, (ver. 9, 10, 11, 12.) *And out of one of them came forth a little horn, which waxed exceeding great, toward the south, and toward the east, and toward the pleasant land. And it waxed great even to the host of heaven, and it cast down some of the host and of the stars to the ground, and stamped upon them. Yea, he magnified himself even to the prince of the host, and by him the daily sacrifice was taken away, and the place of his sanctuary was cast down. And an host was given him against the daily sacrifice by reason of transgression, and it cast down the truth to the ground, and it practised, and prospered.* All which is thus explained by the angel: (ver. 23, 24, 25.) *And in the latter time of their kingdom, when the transgressors are come to the full, a king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences, shall stand up. And his power shall be mighty, but not by his own power: and he shall destroy wonderfully, and shall prosper, and practise, and shall destroy the mighty and the holy people. And through his policy also he shall cause craft to prosper in his hand, and he shall magnify himself in his heart, and by peace shall destroy many: he shall also stand up against the prince of princes, but he shall be broken without hand.* This *little horn* is by the generality of interpreters, both Jewish and Christian, ancient and modern, supposed to mean Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria, who was a great enemy and cruel persecutor of the Jews. So (5) Josephus understands the prophecy, and says that 'our nation suffered 'these calamities under Antiochus Epiphanes, as Daniel 'saw, and many years before wrote what things should 'come to pass.' In like manner (6) St. Jerome ex-

(5) Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 10. Cap. 11. Sect. 7. Και δη ταυτα ημων συνεβη πω εθνει παθειν υπ' Αντιοχου του Επιφανους, καθως ειδεν ο Δανιηλος, και πολλοις ετεσιν ημπροσθεν ανεγραψε τα γενησομενα. Et sane factum est ut hæc ipsa sub Antiocho Epiphane gens nostra pateretur, prout viderat Danielus, et multis ante annis quæ ventura erant scriptis mandaverat. [Translated in the text.] P. 466. Edit. Hudson.

(6) Hieron. in Dan. Cap. 8.——contra Ptolemæum Philometorem dimicavit, hoc est, *contra meridiem*, et contra Ægyptios. Rursumque, *adoriendum*, et contra eos qui res novas in Perside moliebantur: ad extremum contra Judæos dimicans, capta Judæa, ingressus est Jerosolymam: et in templo Dei simulacrum Jovis Olympii statuit. [Translated in the text.] Col. 1105. Edit. Benedict.

plains it of Antiochus Epiphanes, and says, 'that he 'fought against Ptolemy Philometor and the Egyptians, 'that is *against the south*; and again *against the east*, 'and those who attempted a change of government in 'Persia; and lastly he fought against the Jews, took Ju-'dea, entered into Jerusalem, and in the temple of God 'set up the image of Jupiter Olympius.' With St. Jerome agree most of the ancient fathers, and modern divines and commentators; but then they all allow that Antiochus Epiphanes was a type of Antichrist. Antiochus Epiphanes at first sight doth indeed in some features very much resemble the *little horn*; but upon a nearer view and examination it will evidently appear, that in other parts there is no manner of similitude or correspondence between them. Sir Isaac Newton with that sagacity, which was peculiar to him, and with which he penetrated into scripture as well as into nature, (7) perceived plainly that the *little horn* could not be drawn for Antiochus Epiphanes, but must be designed for some other subject; and tho' we shall not entirely follow his plan, nor build altogether upon his foundation, yet we shall be obliged to make use of several of his materials. There are then two ways of expounding this prophecy of the *little horn*, either by understanding it of Antiochus Epiphanes, and considering Antiochus as a type of Antichrist; or by leaving him wholly out of the question, and seeking another application: and which method of the two is to be preferred, will better appear in the progress of this discourse.

A *horn* in the style of Daniel doth not signify any particular king, but is an emblem of a kingdom. In the former vision the *ten horns* were not ten kings, but so many kingdoms, into which the Roman empire was divided: and the *little horn* did not typify a single person, but a succession of men, claiming such prerogatives, and exerting such powers, as are there specified. In this vision likewise the *two horns* of the ram do not represent the two kings, Darius the Mede and Cyrus the

(7) Sir Isaac Newton's Observations on Daniel, Chap. 8.

Persian, but the two kingdoms of Media and Persia: and for this plain reason, because the ram hath all along two horns; even when he is attacked by the he-goat, he hath still two horns; but the two kingdoms of Media and Persia had been long united under one king. The horns of the he-goat too prefigure not kings, but kingdoms. The first *great horn* doth not design Alexander himself, but the kingdom of Alexander, as long as the title continued united in him, and his brother and two sons. The *four horns*, which arose after the first was broken, are expresly said (ver. 22.) to be *four kingdoms*: and consequently it should seem, that the *little horn* cannot signify Antiochus Epiphanes or any single king, but must denote some kingdom: by *kingdom* meaning, what (8) the ancients meant, any government, state, or polity in the world, whether monarchy, or republic, or of what form soever. Now what kingdom was there, that rose up during the subsistence of the four kingdoms of the Grecian empire, and was advanced to any greatness and eminence, but the Roman? The first *great horn* was the kingdom of Alexander and his family. The *four horns were four kingdoms*, not of his family, but only of the nation. *Four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation*: and doth not this imply that the remaining kingdom, the kingdom of the *little horn*, should be not of the nation?

The general character therefore is better adapted to the Romans: and now let us consider the particular properties and actions of the little horn, whether they may be more justly ascribed to Antiochus Epiphanes, or to the Romans. *And out of one of them came forth a little horn.* Antiochus Epiphanes was indeed the son of Antiochus the great, king of Syria: and he is (9) said to

(8) See this point proved from heathen authors as well as from scripture in the beginning of Mr. Mede's tract intitled *Regnum Romanum est regnum quartum Danielis.* Mede's Works. B. 3. p. 711.

(9) Qui quum obses fuisset Romæ, et nesciente senatu cepisset imperium, &c. ['Who having been an hostage at Rome, and, without the knowledge of the senate, having seized the empire, &c.'] Hieron. in Dan. 8. Col. 1105. Edit. Benedict. Antiochum Epiphanem significat, quia fuit Romæ obses. ['It denotes Antiochus Epiphanes, because he was an

be the *little horn*, because he rose from small beginnings to the kingdom, having been many years an hostage at Rome. But then his kingdom was nothing more than a continuation of one of the four kingdoms; it cannot possibly be reckoned as a fifth kingdom springing up among the four; and the little horn is plainly some power different and distinct from the four former horns. Is not this therefore more applicable to the Romans, who were a new and different power, who rose from small beginnings to an exceeding great empire, who first subdued Macedon and Greece the capital kingdom of the goat, and from thence spread and inlarged their conquests over the rest? Nor let it seem strange, that the Romans who were prefigured by a great *beast* in the former vision, should in this be represented only by the *horn* of a beast; for nothing is more usual, than to describe the same person or thing under different images upon different occasions: and besides in this vision the Roman empire is not designed at large, but only the Roman empire as a horn of the goat. When the Romans first got footing in Greece, then they became a horn of the goat. Out of this horn they came, and were at first a little horn, but in process of time overtopped the other horns. From Greece they extended their arms, and overran the other parts of the goat's dominions: and their actions within the dominions of the goat, and not their affairs in the western empire, are the principal subject of this prophecy. But their actions, which are most largely and particularly specified, are their great persecution and oppression of the people of God: which renders it probable, that the appellation of *the little horn* might be given them for the same reason, that the great persecutor and oppressor of the saints in the western empire is also called *the little horn*. It

hostage at Rome.'] Vatablus in locum. Antiochus, qui obses fuit Romæ; nec a patre designatus rex, sed invasit regnum, &c. ['Antiochus, who was an hostage at Rome, though not appointed king by his father, yet seized the kingdom.'] Clarius in locum. Antiochus modicæ primum fortunæ; privatus, et Romæ obses, ex post facto dictus Epiphanes. ['Antiochus at first a private person of a moderate fortune, and an hostage at Rome, afterwards was called Epiphanes.'] Grotius in locum. So likewise Poole, &c.

is the same kind of power, and therefore might be signified by the same name.

It will appear too, that the time agrees better with the Romans. *And in the latter time of their kingdom, when the transgressors are come to the full, a king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences, shall stand up.* Antiochus Epiphanes might be said indeed to *stand up in the latter time of their kingdom*; because Macedonia, the first of the four kingdoms, was conquered and reduced into a Roman province, during his reign. But when he stood up, *the transgressors* in the Jewish nation *were not come to the full;* for when he began to reign, (1) Onias was high-priest of the Jews, and the temporal as well as ecclesiastical government was at this time in the hands of the high-priest, and this Onias was a most worthy good magistrate, as well as a most venerable pious priest. As the author of the second book of Maccabees saith, (2 Mac. iii. 1.) *the holy city was inhabited with all peace, and the laws were kept very well, because of the godliness of Onias the high-priest, and his hatred of wickedness.* It was after this time, that the great corruptions were introduced into the Jewish church and nation; and they were introduced chiefly through the means of Antiochus, by his direction, or under his authority. The Romans might much better be said to stand up *in the latter time of their kingdom,* who saw the end not only of one kingdom, but of all the four; who first subdued the kingdom of Macedon and Greece, and then inherited by the will of Attalus the kingdom of Pergamus, which was the remains of the kingdom of Lysimachus, and afterwards made a province of the kingdom of Syria, and lastly of the kingdom of Egypt. When the Romans stood up too, *the transgressions were come to the full;* for the high-priesthood was exposed to sale; good Onias was ejected for a sum of money to make room for wicked Jason, and Jason was again supplanted for a greater sum of money by a worse man (if possible) than himself, his brother Mene-

(1) For these and many particulars which follow, the two books of Maccabees, and Josephus's antiquities of the Jews must be consulted.

laus; and the golden vessels of the temple were sold to pay the sacrilegious purchase. At the same time the customs of the heathen nations were introduced among the Jews; the youth were trained up and exercised after the manner of the Greeks; the people apostatized from the true religion, and even *the priests* (2 Mac. iv. 14.) *had no courage to serve any more at the altar, but despising the temple, and neglecting the sacrifices, they hastened to be partakers of unlawful* diversions. Nay Jerusalem was taken by Antiochus; forty thousand Jews were slain, and as many more were sold into slavery; the temple was profaned even under the conduct of the high-priest Menelaus, was defiled with swines blood, and plundered of every thing valuable; and in (2) the same year, that Paulus Æmilius the Roman consul vanquished Perseus the last king of Macedonia, and thereby put an end to that kingdom, the Jewish religion was put down, and the heathen worship was set up in the cities of Judea, and in Jerusalem; and the temple itself was consecrated to Jupiter Olympius, and his image was erected upon the very altar. Then indeed *the transgressors were come to the full,* and then as we see, the Romans stood up, *a king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences.*

A *king* in the prophetic stile is the same as a *kingdom,* and a kingdom, as we before observed, is any state or government. *A king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences.* The latter expression in the (3) Syriac is translated *skilful in ruling,* and in the Arabic *skilful of disputations.* We may suppose the meaning to be, that this should be a politic and artful, as well as a formidable power; which is not so properly the character of Antiochus, as of the Romans. They were represented in the former vision by a *beast dreadful and terrible;* and for the same reason they are here denominated *a king of fierce countenance.* He cannot so well be said to be *a king of fierce countenance,* who was even frightened out of Egypt

(2) See Prideaux Connect. Part 2. B. 3. Ann. 168.

(3) Regnandi peritus. ['Skilful in ruling.'] Syr. Disputationem peritus. ['Skilful in disputations.'] Arab.

by a message from the Romans. The (4) story is worthy of memory. Antiochus Epiphanes was making war upon Egypt, and was in a fair way of becoming master of the whole kingdom. The Romans therefore fearing lest he should grow too powerful by annexing Egypt to the crown of Syria, sent an embassy to him, to require him to desist from his enterprise, or to declare war against him. He was drawing near to besiege Alexandria, when he was met by the three embassadors from Rome. Popillius, the chief of them, had formerly been his friend and acquaintance, while he was an hostage at Rome: and the king at their first meeting graciously offered him his hand in remembrance of their former friendship. But Popillius declined the compliment by saying, that private friendship must give place to the public welfare, and he must first know whether the king was a friend to the Roman state, before he could acknowlege him as a friend to himself: and so saying he presented to him the tables which contained the decree of the senate, and desired an immediate answer. Antiochus opened and perused them, and replied that he would consider the matter with his friends, and return his answer very speedily. But Popillius with a wand that he carried in his hand drew a circle in the sand round the king, and insisted upon his answer, before he stirred out of that circle. The king astonished at this peremptory and imperious manner of proceeding, after some hesitation, said that he would obey the commands of the senate: and then at length Popillius reached forth his hand to him as a friend and confederate. This incident happened very soon after the conquest of Macedonia, which as it dismayed Antiochus, so it emboldened the Romans to act in this manner: and this being their first memorable action as soon as they became a horn or kingdom of the goat, it is very fitly said of them, more fitly than of Antiochus, *a king of fierce countenance shall stand up.*

(4) Polyb. Legat. 92. p. 916. Edit. Casaubon. Appian. de Bellis Syriacis, p. 131. Edit. Steph. p. 212. Edit. Tollii. Livius, Lib. 45. Cap. 12. Valerius Maximus, Lib. 6. Cap. 4. Sect. 3. Velleius Paterculus, Lib. 1. Cap. 10. Justin. Lib. 34. Cap. 3.

The other actions likewise of the little horn accord better with the Romans. This horn, tho' little at first, yet *waxed exceeding great toward the south, and toward the east, and toward the pleasant land.* This horn therefore, as Sir Isaac Newton (5) justly observes, was to rise up in the north-west parts of those nations, which composed the body of the goat; and from thence was to extend his dominion towards Egypt, Syria, and Judea. Observe the particulars. He *waxed exceeding great:* and so did the Roman empire even within the territories of the goat, but not so did Antiochus Epiphanes: for he was so far from enlarging the kingdom of Syria, that it was less in his time than under most of his predecessors, and he (6) left it as he found it, tributary to the Romans.—*Toward the south:* Antiochus indeed did several times invade Egypt, and gained great advantages over Ptolemy Philometor king of Egypt: but he was never able to make himself absolute master of the country, and annex it to the kingdom of Syria; as the Romans made it a province of their empire, and kept possession of it for several centuries. His designs were frustrated as we have seen, by an embassy from the Romans; and he went out of Egypt baffled and disgraced, a word from them being as effectual as an army.—*Toward the east:* the Romans did grow very powerful toward the east; they conquered and made a province of Syria, which was the eastern kingdom of the goat: but Antiochus was seated in the east himself, and did not extend his dominions farther eastward. On the contrary the Parthians had withdrawn their obedience from the kings of Syria, and had erected a growing kingdom in the east. Antiochus did indeed (7) vanquish Artaxias, the tributary king of Armenia, who had revolted from him: but this was rather in the north than in the east. He had not the like success among the Persians, who were also dilatory in paying their

(5) Sir Isaac Newton's Observ. on Daniel, Chap. 9. p. 119, 120.
(6) 2 Macc. viii. 10.
(7) Appian. de Bell. Syr. p. 117. et 131. Edit. Steph. p. 187 et 212. Edit. Tollii. Porphyrius apud. Hieron. in Dan. 11. Col. 1133. Edit. Benedict.

tribute; for (8) having heard much of the riches of Elymais, and particularly of the temple there, he went thither with a design of seizing the treasures of the city and temple; but the inhabitants rose upon him, repelled and routed him and his army, so that he was forced to fly with disappointment and disgrace out of the country; and soon after he sickened and died.—*And toward the pleasant land,* that is Judea; for so it is called in the Psalms (cvi. 24.) *the pleasant land;* and in Jeremiah (iii. 19.) *a pleasant land, a goodly heritage;* and so twice again afterwards in Daniel. (xi. 16, 41.) Antiochus did indeed take Jerusalem, and miserably harrass and oppress the Jews, as it has been above related: but the Jews in a little time, under the conduct of the Maccabees, recovered their liberties, and established their religion and government in greater splendor and security than before. The Romans more effectually conquered and subdued them, first made a province of their country, and then destroyed their city and temple, and dispersed the people, so that after so fatal a fall they have never from that time to this been able to rise again.

Another remarkable property, that eminently distinguished the little horn from all others, was that *his power should be mighty, but not by his own power;* which commentators are much at a loss to explain. Some say (9) that he should be mighty not so much by his own industry, as by the gift of God: but so are all horns or kingdoms whatever. Others say, (1) that God should give him this power for the punishment of his people; and others again, (2) that he should obtain it by the factions and perfidy and baseness of the Jews, who should betray their country to him: but these limit and

(8) 1 Maccab. vi. 1—4. 2 Maccab. ix. 1, 2. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 8. Sect. 1. p. 544. Edit. Hudson. Porphyrius apud Hieron. ibid.

(9) Non propria industria, sed Deo dante. ['Not by his own industry, but by the gift of God.'] Vatablus.

(1) Quia Deus voluit per ipsum punire populum suum. ['Because by him, God designed to punish his people.'] Clarius.

(2) So Poole, Lowth, &c. Non tam ex ipso causa erit tanti incrementi, quam ex factionibus Judæorum. ['The cause of this mighty aggrandisement shall not originate so much from himself as from the factions of the Jews.'] Grotius.

restrain the meaning to a particular subject, to his power over the Jews, whereas it is said in the general, that *his power should be mighty, but not by his own power. His power* in general, not only over this or that particular people, *should be mighty, but not by his own power.* The best explanation that they can give of it, who understand the whole of Antiochus Epiphanes, is that (3) he attained to the crown chiefly by the favor and assistance of Eumenes king of Pergamus and Attalus his brother, who having at that time some jealousy of the Romans, were desirous to make the king of Syria their friend: but we do not read that they assisted him in any of his wars afterwards, and neither was his kingdom strengthened by foreign armies or alliances. They who conceive Antiochus to be a type of Antichrist, (4) offer a fairer interpretation, because Antichrist was to exercise an usurped authority, and not his own, and the kings of the earth, according to St. John, (Rev. xvii. 13.) were to *give their power and strength unto the beast.* But this part of the prophecy, as well as the rest, can no where be so justly and properly applied, as to the Romans. With them it quadrates exactly, and with none of the other horns or kingdoms of the goat. The strength of the other kingdoms consisted in themselves, and had its foundation in some part of the goat: but the Roman empire, as a horn or kingdom of the goat, was not mighty by its own power, was not strong by virtue of the goat, but drew its nourishment and strength from Rome and Italy. There grew the trunk and body of the tree, tho' the branches extended over Greece, Asia, Syria, and Egypt.

The remainder of the prophecy relates mostly to the persecution and oppression of the people of God. *And he waxed great even to the host of heaven,* (or *against the host of heaven*) *and he cast down some of the host, and the stars to the ground, and stamped upon them,* that is, the Jewish state in general, *the mighty and the holy people,* (ver. 24.) or the Priests and Levites in particular; who

(3) Appian. de Bell. Syr. p. 116. Edit. Steph. p. 187. Edit. Tollii.
(4) See Lowth's Comment.

are called *stars;* as they were eminent for their station and illustrious for their knowlege: and *the host of heaven,* as they watched and served in the temple, and their service is denominated *a warfare.* (Num. viii. 24, 25.) This passage was in some measure fulfilled by Antiochus Epiphanes as well as by the Romans: but our Saviour making use of the like expressions, (Mat. xxiv. 29.) *the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens shall be shaken,* in speaking of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, this passage also may more properly be referred to that event.

Yea he magnified himself even to the prince of the host, (or *against the prince of the host*) *and by him the daily sacrifice was taken away, and the place of his sanctuary was cast down.* Antiochus did indeed *take away the daily sacrifice,* but he did not *cast down the place of his sanctuary,* he did not destroy the temple. He took away the daily sacrifice for a few years, but the Romans for many ages: and the Romans likewise utterly destroyed the temple, which he spoiled only and profaned.

And an host was given him against the daily sacrifice by reason of transgression. The word here translated *an host* is rendered in other places, (Job vii. 1.) and in the book of Daniel itself, (x. 1.) *an appointed time: And an appointed time was given him against the daily sacrifice by reason of transgression:* Or as we read in the margin, *The host was given over for the transgression against the daily sacrifice, and he cast down the truth to the ground, and he practised, and prospered.* Or as the same thing is expressed by the angel: *He shall destroy wonderfully, and shall prosper, and practise, and shall destroy the mighty and the holy people; and through his policy also he shall cause craft to prosper in his hand, and he shall magnify himself in his heart, and by peace shall destroy many.* But Antiochus did not so mightily destroy the Jews, nor prosper in his practices and designs against them. When he took Jerusalem, (5) he slew forty thousand, and sold forty thousand more: but when the city was besieged and taken by the Romans, (6) the num-

(5) 2 Macc. v. 14.
(6) Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 6. Cap. 9. Sect. 2, et 3. p. 1291. Ed. Hudson.

ber of the captives amounted to ninety-seven thousand, and of the slain to eleven hundred thousand. The Romans too carried their conquest and revenge so far, as to put an end to the government of the Jews, and entirely to take away their place and nation. Antiochus meant as much to root out the whole people; his malice was as great, but his success was not equal; for though his forces were victorious at first, yet they were defeated at last, and his (7) generals Apollonius, Seron, Nicanor, and Gorgias, Timotheus and Bacchides, and even Lysias himself, were all shamefully routed one after another: and the news of these defeats hastened his death.

It is farther added, that *he shall also stand up against the prince of princes.* If by *the prince of princes* the high-priest be meant, it is very true that Antiochus did put in and put out the high-priests at pleasure, but the Romans took away the whole administration. If by *the prince of princes* be meant, as most probably was meant, the Messiah, then Antiochus had no share in the completion: it was effected by the Romans. It was by the malice of the Jews, but by the authority of the Romans, that he was put to death; and he suffered the punishment of the Roman malefactors and slaves. And indeed it is very worthy of our most serious consideration, whether this part of the prophecy be not a sketch of the fate and sufferings of the Christian as well as of the Jewish church. Nothing is more usual with the prophets than to describe the religion and worship of later times by metaphors and figures borrowed from their own religion. The Christians may full as well as the Jews be comprehended under the name of *the holy people,* or *people of the holy ones.* And the Romans not only crucified our Saviour, but also persecuted his disciples for above three centuries; and when at length they embraced the Christian religion they soon corrupted it; so that it may be questioned, whether their favor was not as hurtful to the church, as their enmity. As the power of the Roman emperors declined, that of the Roman pontiffs increased: and may it not with equal truth and justice be said of the

(7) 1 Macc. iii. iv. 2 Macc. viii. x. xi. Josephi. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 7. p. 537. Edit. Hudson.

latter, as of the former, that they *cast down the truth to the ground, and practised, and prospered?* How applicable in this sense is every part of the angel's interpretation! *A king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences shall stand up. And his power shall be mighty, but not by his own power: and he shall destroy wonderfully, and shall prosper, and practise, and shall destroy the mighty and the holy people,* (or *the people of the holy ones:*) *And through his policy also he shall cause craft to prosper in his hand, and he shall magnify himself in his heart, and by peace shall destroy many: he shall also stand up against the prince of princes, but he shall be broken without hand.* And this farther opens and explains the reason of the appellation *the little horn,* The persecuting power of Rome, whether exercised towards the Jews, or towards the Christians, or by the emperors or by the popes, is still *the little horn.* The tyranny is the same; but as exerted in Greece and the east, it is the little horn of the he-goat or the third empire; as exerted in Italy and the west, it is the little horn of the fourth beast or the fourth empire.

But the little horn, like other tyrannical powers, was to come to a remarkable end; *he shall be broken without hand.* As the stone in Nebuchadnezzar's dream was *cut out of the mountain without hands,* that is not by human, but by supernatural means; so the little horn *shall be broken without hand,* not die the common death, not fall by the hand of men, but perish by a stroke from heaven. And this agrees perfectly with the former predictions of the fatal catastrophe of the Romans. *The stone,* that is the power of Christ, (ii. 34.) *smote the image upon his feet of iron and clay, and brake them to pieces.* Again (vii. 11.) *I beheld then, because of the voice of the great words which the horn spake; I beheld even till the beast was slain, and his body destroyed, and given to the burning flame.* And again (ver. 26.) *the judgment shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion, to consume, and to destroy it unto the end.* All which implies that the dominion of the Romans shall finally be destroyed with some extraordinary manifestation of the divine power. It is indeed very true, that Antiochus Epiphanes

died in an extraordinary manner. He was returning from his unsuccessful expedition into Persia, when he heard the news of the defeat of his armies one after another by the forces of the Maccabees. He set forward therefore in great rage and fury, breathing nothing but death and destruction to the whole generation of the Jews. But in the way he was seised with violent pains in his bowels; and having a fall from his chariot, he was sorely bruised, and his inward pains grew more violent, so that he was not able to proceed in his journey, but was forced to stop at a little town on the road. There he lay in great torment, and filthy ulcers broke out in his body, from whence issued worms, and such a stench, that he became intolerable to others, and even to himself. Nor were the torments and agonies of his mind less than those of his body. He was vexed even to distraction, thought he saw dreadful specters and apparitions, and suffered all the pangs and horrors of a guilty conscience; and in this miserable condition he lay pining and rotting till he died. This is the account that is given of his death, and (8) confirmed by Heathen as well as by Jewish historians: but with this difference, that the former ascribe it to the vengeance of the Gods for the sacrilege that he designed to commit at Elymais; the latter represent it as the just judgment of heaven for the sacrilege that he really committed at Jerusalem, and for the barbarous slaughter that he made of so many thousands of the Jews: and they say, that he himself upon his death-bed confessed as much: and which of these accounts is the more probable and credible, every intelligent reader will easily determin.

By thus tracing the particulars it appears, that tho' some of them may agree very well with Antiochus Epiphanes, yet others can by no means accord or be reconciled to him: but they all agree and correspond exactly with the Romans, and with no one else: so that the application of the character to them must be the

(8) Polyb. p. 997. Edit. Casaubon. Appian. de Bell. Syr. p. 131. Edit. Steph. p. 212. Edit. Tollii. Diodorus et Porphyrius apud Hieron. in Dan. 11. Col. 1131 et 1133. Edit. Benedict. 1 Maccab. vi. 1—16. 2 Maccab. ix. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 8. Sect. 1. p. 544. Edit. Hudson.

right application. It is therefore surprising, that a man of Dr. Hallifax's learning, after so many proofs to the contrary, can however opine, that the character "must "of necessity be restrained to Antiochus Epiphanes, "and to him only;" and for such reasons, and for none others than have here been obviated and refuted. The fitness and propriety of the application to the Romans will still farther appear by considering the time that is allotted for the duration and continuance of the vision. *I will make thee know,* saith the angel to Daniel, (ver. 19.) *what shall be in the last end,* or *to the last end of the indignation:* that is, as Mr. Lowth paraphraseth it. "I "will explain to thee the whole series of God's judg- "ments upon this people to the end and conclusion of "them:" but that end and conclusion is not yet come. There are intimations in the prophets, that God's indignation against his people will be accomplished, and the final destruction of the Roman dominion will fall out about the same period. But the time is more particularly noted. One angel asked another angel, (ver. 13.) *How long shall be the vision concerning the daily sacrifice and the transgression of desolation, to give both the sanctuary, and the host to be troden under foot?* In the original there is no such word as *concerning;* and Mr. Lowth rightly observes, that the words may be rendered more agreeably to the Hebrew thus, *For how long a time shall the vision last, the daily sacrifice be taken away, and the transgression of desolation continue,* &c.? After the same manner the question is translated by the (9) Seventy, and in the Arabic version, and in the Vulgar Latin. The answer is (ver. 14.) *Unto two thousand, and three hundred days; then shall the sanctuary be cleansed.* In the original it is, *Unto two thousand and three hundred evenings and mornings,* an evening and morning being in Hebrew the notation of time for a day; and in allusion to this expression it is said afterwards (ver. 26.) *The vision of the evening and the morn-*

(9) Ἕως πολὺ ἡ ὁρασις ϛησεται, ἡ θυσια ἡ αἰρθεισα, κ. τ. λ. Sept. Quousque visio hæc continget, et auferetur sacrificium, &c. Arab. Usquoquo visio, et fuge sacrificium, &c. [Translated in the text.] Vulg.

ing is true. Now these two thousand and three hundred days can by no computation be accommodated to the times of Antiochus Epiphanes, even tho' the days be taken for natural days. Two thousand and three hundred days are six years and somewhat more than a quarter: but the profanation of the altar under Antiochus but lasted three years complete, according to the author of the first book of the Maccabees; (1 Macc. i. 59. compared with iv. 52.) and the desolation of the temple, and the taking away of the daily sacrifice by Apollonius continued but three years and a half, according (1) to Josephus. Mr. Mede proposeth a method to reconcile the difference, (2) and saith that the time is "not to be reckoned from the highth of *the* calamity, "when the *daily sacrifice should be taken away,* (from "thence it is but three years) but from the beginning "of the transgression, which occasioned this desola-"tion, and is described 1 Macc. i. 11, &c." But Antiochus began to reign, according to the author of the first book of the Maccabees, (i. 10.) *in the 137th year of the kingdom of the Greeks* or æra of the Seleucidæ; and *in those days* was the beginning of the transgression, which is described 1 Macc. i. 11, &c. that is ten or eleven years before the cleansing of the sanctuary, which was performed *in the 148th year* according to the same author: (iv. 52.) Or if we compute the time from Antiochus's first going up against Jerusalem, and spoiling the city and temple, these things were done according to the same author (i. 20.) *in the 143d year;* so that this reckoning would fall short of the time assigned, as the other exceeds it. The difficulty or impossibility rather of making these two thousand and three hundred days accord with the times of Antiochus, I suppose, obliged the ancients to consider Antiochus as a type of Antichrist: and therefore (3) Jerome saith in his com-

(1) Josephi Proem. de Bell. Jud. Sect. 7. p. 956. Lib. 1. Cap. 1. Sect. 1. p. 958. Edit. Hudson.

(2) Mr. Mede's Apostasy of the latter times. Part. 1. Cap. 4. in his Works. B. 3. p. 659.

(3) Hunc locum plerique nostrorum ad Antichristum referunt: et quod sub Antiocho in typo factum est, sub illo in veritate dicunt esse complendum. [translated in the text.]. Hieron. in locum. Col. 1106. Edit. Benedict.

ment, that this place most Christians refer to Antichrist; and affirm, that what was transacted in a type under Antiochus, will be fulfilled in truth under Antichrist. The days without doubt are to be taken agreeably to the style of Daniel in other places, not for natural, but for prophetic days or years; and as the question was asked, not only how long the daily sacrifice shall be taken away and the transgression of desolation continue, but also how long the vision shall last; so the answer is to be understood, and these two thousand and three hundred days denote the whole time from the beginning of the vision to the cleansing of the sanctuary. The sanctuary is not yet cleansed, and consequently these years are not yet expired. When these years shall be expired, then their end will clearly show from whence their beginning is to be dated, whether from the vision of the ram, or of the he-goat, or of the little horn. It is difficult to fix the precise time, when the prophetic dates begin, and when they end, till the prophecies are fulfilled, and the event declares the certainty of them. And the difficulty is increased in this case by reason of some variety in the copies. For the (4) Seventy have *four hundred* in this place: and others, as (5) Jerome informs us, read *two hundred* instead of three hundred. If we follow the reading of the Seventy, *Unto two thousand four hundred days* or *years*, then perhaps they are to be computed from the vision of the ram, or the establishment of the Persian empire. If we follow the other reading mentioned by Jerome, *Unto two thousand and two hundred days or years*, then perhaps they are to be computed from the vision of the little horn, or the Romans invading the Grecian empire: And it is remarkable, (6) that the Romans first passed over with

(4) ἡμέραι διςχίλιαι καὶ τετρακόσιαι. ['Two thousand and four hundred days.'] Sept.

(5) Quidam pro duobus millibus trecentis, duo millia ducentos legunt. ['Some instead of two thousand three hundred, read two thousand two hundred.'] Hieron. ibid.

(6) See Usher's Annals. A. M. 3804.

an army, and made war upon Philip king of Macedonia, just 200 years before Christ. But if we still retain the common reading, (which probably is the truest and best) *Unto two thousand and three hundred days* or *years*, then I conceive they are to be computed from the vision of the he-goat, or Alexander's invading Asia. Alexander invaded Asia (7) in the year of the world 3670, and in the year before Christ 334. Two thousand and three hundred years from that time will draw towards the conclusion of the sixth millennium of the world, and about that period, according to (8) an old tradition, which was current before our Saviour's time, and was probably founded upon the prophecies, great changes and revolutions are expected: and particularly as (9) Rabbi Abraham Sebah saith, Rome is to be overthrown, and the Jews are to be restored. The angel farther affirms the truth and certainty of the vision, and of the time alloted for it. (ver. 26.) *The vision of the evening and the morning, which was told, is true; wherefore shut thou up the vision, for it shall be for many days. The shutting up of the vision* implies, that it should not be understood of some time; and we cannot say that it was sufficiently understood, so long as Antiochus Epiphanes was taken for the little horn. The vision being for *many days*, must necessarily infer a longer term, than the calamity under Antiochus of three years or three years and an half, or even then the whole time from the first begining of the vision in Cyrus to the cleansing of the sanctuary under Antiochus, which was not (1) above

(7) See Usher, Prideaux, &c.

(8) See Placita Doctorum Hebræorum de magno die judicii, et regno Messiæ tunc futuro, ['the opinions of the Hebrew Doctors, concerning the great day of judgment, and the future kingdom of the Messiah'] in Mede's Works, B. 3. p. 535, and Placita Doctorum Hebræorum de Babylonis seu Romæ excidio, ['the opinions of the Hebrew Doctors concerning the destruction of Babylon or of Rome'] in Mede's Works, B. 5. p. 902.

(9) R. Abraham Sebah in Gen. i. ait, curfente sexto annorum mundi millenario Romam evertendam, et Judæos reducendos. ['Rabbi Abraham Sebah on Gen. i. saith, that in the course of the sixth millennium of the world, Rome will be destroyed, and the Jews restored.'] Ibid. p. 903.

(1) See Usher, Prideaux, &c. The first year of Cyrus was A. M. 3468, before Christ 536. The sanctuary was cleansed A. M. 3839, before Christ 165.

371 years. Such a vision could not well be called long to Daniel, who had seen so much longer before; and especially as the time assigned for it is *two thousand and three hundred days,* which since they cannot by any account be natural days, must needs be prophetic days, or two thousand and three hundred years. Such a vision may properly enough be said to be *for many days.*

Daniel was much affected with the misfortunes and afflictions, which were to befall the church and people of God, (ver. 27.) *And I Daniel fainted, and was sick certain days; afterward I rose up, and did the king's business, and I was astonished at the vision, but none understood it.* Munster, and Clarius who generally transcribes Munster, (2) are of opinion that Daniel was visited by this sickness, lest he should be lifted up by the sublimity of the visions. I presume they thought his case somewhat like St. Paul's, (2 Cor. xii. 7.) who had *a thorn in the flesh,* or a bodily infirmity, *lest he should be exalted above measure thro' the abundance of the revelations.* But it is much more probable, that Daniel's sickness proceeded from his grief for his religion and country: as in the former vision *he was grieved in his spirit, his cogitations much troubled him, and his countenance changed in him,* at the success of the little horn there described. And this is another most conclusive argument, that the calamities under Antiochus Epiphanes could not possibly be the main end and ultimate scope of this prophecy. For the calamities under Antiochus were of small extent and of short duration, in comparison with what the nation had suffered, and was then suffering under Nebuchadnezzar and his successors. Antiochus took the city, but Nebuchadnezzar burnt it to the ground. Antiochus

(2) Et quod subditur de ægrotatione Danielis, ostenditur illam prophetæ immissam, ne extolleretur sublimitate visionum, quas solus intelligebat. ['By what is subjoined concerning Daniel's sickness, is shewn that it came upon the prophet, lest he should be exalted above measure, by the sublimity of the vision which he alone understood.'] Munsterus. Et quod de ægrotatione sua dicit, ostenditur, illam prophetæ immissam, ne extolleretur sublimitate visionum, quas solus intelligebat. ['By what he tells us concerning his sickness, is shewn, that it was sent to the prophet, lest he should be too much lifted up by the sublimity of the visions, which he alone understood.'] Clarius.

profaned the temple, but Nebuchadnezzar utterly destroyed it. Antiochus made captives forty thousand of the Jews, but Nebuchadnezzar carried the whole nation into captivity. Antiochus took away the daily sacrifice for three years and a half, but Nebuchadnezzar abolished all the temple service for seventy years. Why then should Daniel, who had seen and felt these greater calamities, be so much grieved at those lesser disasters of the nation? Present and sensible evils usually affect us most: and therefore that Daniel was so much more affected with the future than with the present, *was astonished and fainted, and was sick certain days,* can be ascribed to nothing but to his foreseeing, that the future distress and misery of the nation would greatly exceed all that they sustained at present. But the calamities under Antiochus were much less, and much shorter. Those only which they suffered from the Romans, were greater and worse than the evils brought on them by Nebuchadnezzar. And *the transgression of desolation* hath now continued these 1700 years. They expect, and we expect, that at length *the sanctuary will be cleansed,* and that in God's determined time his promise will be fully accomplished: (Amos ix. 11, 12. Acts. xv. 16, 17.) *I will return, and will build again the tabernacle of David, which is fallen down; and I will build again the ruins thereof, and I will set it up; That the residue of men might seek after the Lord, and all the Gentiles upon whom my name is called, saith the Lord, who doeth all these things.*

This concern of Daniel, and affection for his religion and country, show him in a very amiable light, and give an additional lustre and glory to his character. But not only in this instance, but in every other, he manifests the same public spirit, and appears no less eminently a patriot than a prophet. Tho' he was torn early from his country and enjoyed all the advantages that he could enjoy in foreign service, yet nothing could make him forget his native home: And in the next chapter we see him pouring out his soul in prayer, and supplicating most earnestly and devoutly for the pardon and restoration of his captive nation. It is a gross mistake therefore to think,

that religion will ever extinguish or abate our love for our country. The scriptures will rather incite and inflame it, exhibit several illustrious examples of it, and recommend and enforce this, as well as all other moral and social virtues; and especially when the interests of true religion and of our country are so blended and interwoven, that they cannot well be separated the one from the other. This is a double incentive to the love of our country; and with the same zeal that every pious Jew might say formerly, every honest Briton may say now, with the good Psalmist, (Psal. cxxii. 6, &c.) *O pray for the peace of Jerusalem; they shall prosper that love thee. Peace be within thy walls, and plenteousness within thy palaces. For my brethren and companions sake I will wish thee prosperity: Yea because of the house of the Lord our God I will seek to do thee good.*

XVI.

DANIEL'S PROPHECY OF THE THINGS NOTED IN THE SCRIPTURE OF TRUTH.

IN TWO PARTS.

PART I.

IT is the usual method of the holy Spirit to make the latter prophecies explanatory of the former; and revelation is (Prov. iv. 18.) *as the shining light that shineth more and more unto the perfect day.* The four great empires of the world, which were shown to Nebuchadnezzar in the form of a great image, were again more particularly represented to Daniel in the shape of four great wild beasts. In like manner, the memorable events,

which were revealed to Daniel in the vision of the ram and he goat, are here again more clearly and explicitly revealed in his last vision by an angel: so that this latter prophecy may not improperly be said to be a comment and explanation of the former. This revelation was made (x. 1.) *in the third year of Cyrus king of Persia*, when Daniel was very far advanced in years. For the third year of Cyrus was the seventy-third of Daniel's captivity; and being a youth when he was carried captive, he cannot he supposed now to have been less than ninety; and not long after this, it is reasonable to believe that he died. Old as he was, he *set his heart to understand* the former revelations which had been made to him, and particularly the vision of the ram and he-goat, as I think we may collect from the sequel: and for this purpose he prayed, and fasted three weeks. His fasting and prayers had the desired effect; for an angel was sent, and said unto him, (ver. 12.) *Fear not, Daniel; for from the first day that thou didst set thine heart to understand, and to chasten thyself before thy God, thy words are heard, and I am come for thy words.* And whoever would attain the same ends, and excel in divine knowlege, must pursue the same means, and habituate himself to study, temperance, and devotion. The angel declares the design of his coming, (ver. 14.) *Now I am come to make thee understand what shall befall thy people in the latter days; for yet the vision is for many days.* This prophecy therefore contains the fate and fortune of the people of God for many years. As it was said before, (ver. 1.) *the thing was true, but the time appointed was long:* and consequently this prophecy must extend farther than from the third year of Cyrus to the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, which was not (1) above 370 years. In reality it comprehends many signal events after that time to the end of the world: but the types and figures of the things are not exhibited in this as in most of the other visions, and then expounded by the angel; but the

(1) The third year of Cyrus was A.M. 3470, before Christ 534. Antiochus Epiphanes died A.M. 3840, before Christ 164. See Usher, Prideaux, &c.

angel relates the whole, and not by way of vision, but only by narration, informs Daniel of *that which is noted in the scripture of truth.* (ver. 21.) *I will shew thee that which is noted in the scripture of truth,* as if future events were noted in a book before God: and this prophecy, being taken from *the scripture of truth,* is therefore deserving of our strictest attention; and we may depend upon the certainty of all the particulars contained therein, if we can but rightly understand and expound them.

The angel first prophesies of the Persian empire, which was then subsisting. *Behold, there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia; and the fourth shall be far richer than they all; and by his strength through his riches he shall stir up all against the realm of Grecia.* (xi. 2.) *There shall stand up yet,* that is after Cyrus, the founder of the empire, who was then reigning, *Three kings in Persia;* these were Cambyses, the son of Cyrus; Smerdis the Magian, who pretended to be another son of Cyrus, but was really an impostor; and Darius, the son of Hystaspes, who married the daughter of Cyrus. *And the fourth shall be far richer than they all.* The fourth after Cyrus was Xerxes, the son and successor of Darius; of whom Justin (2) truly remarks, 'If you consider this king, you 'may praise his riches, not the general; of which there 'was so great abundance in his kingdom, that when rivers 'were dried up by his army, yet his wealth remained un-'exhausted.' Pythius the Lydian (3) was at that time the richest subject in the world. He generously entertained Xerxes and all his army, and proffered him two thousand talents of silver, and three millions nine hundred ninety-three thousand pieces of gold with the stamp of Darius, towards defraying the charges of the war. But Xerxes was so far from wanting any supplies, that he rewarded Pythius for his liberality, and presented him with seven thousand darics, to make up his number a

(2) Si regem spectes, divitias, non ducem laudes; quarum tanta copia in regno ejus fuit, ut, cum flumina multitudine consumerentur, opes tamen regiæ superessent. [Translated in the text.] Justin. L. 2. Cap. 10.

(3) Herod. Lib. 7. Sect. 27, &c. p. 395. Edit. Gale.

complete round sum of four millions. Each of these darics (4) was worth better than a guinea of our money. *And by his strength through his riches he shall stir up all,* both subjects and allies, *against the realm of Grecia.* Xerxes's expedition into Greece is one of the most memorable adventures in ancient history. Herodotus affirms, that (5) Xerxes in raising his army searched every place of the continent, and it was the greatest army that ever was brought into the field; for what nation was there, says he, that Xerxes led not out of Asia into Greece? Herodotus lived in that age; and he (6) recounts with great exactness the various nations of which Xerxes's army was composed, and computes that the whole number of horse and foot, by land and sea, out of Asia and out of Europe, soldiers and followers of the camp, amounted to five millions, two hundred eighty three thousand, two hundred and twenty men. Nor was Xerxes content with stirring up the east, but was for stirring up (7) the west likewise, and engaged the Carthaginians in his alliance, that while he with his army overwhelming Greece, they might fall upon the Greek colonies in Sicily and Italy: and the Carthaginians for this purpose not only raised all the forces they could in Africa, but also hired a great number of mercenaries in Spain, and Gaul, and Italy; so that their army consisted of three hundred thousand men, and their fleet of two hundred ships. Thus did Xerxes *stir up all against the realm of Grecia;* and after him no mention is made of any other king of Persia. 'It is to be noted, (8) saith 'Jerome, that the prophet having enumerated four

(4) Bernard de ponderibus et mensuris antiquis. p. 171. Prideaux Connect. Part 1. B. 2, Anno 538. Darius the Mede 1.

(5) Και Ξερξης τȣ ςρατȣ ὑτω επαγερσιν ωοιεεται, χωρον παντα ερευνων της ηπειρȣ. Xerxes autem ita copias suas contraxit, ut omnem continentis locum scrutaretur.——ςολων γαρ των ἡμεις ιδμεν πολλῳ δη μεγιςος ὑτος εγενετο· nam omnium quos novimus exercituum hic multo maximus extitit.—τι γαρ ȣκ ηγαγε εκ της Ασιης εθνος επι της Ἑλλαδα Ξερξης; quam enim ex Asia gentem in Græciam non adduxit Xerxes? [Translated in the text.] Herod. Lib. 7 Sect. 20, 21. p. 392. Edit. Gale.

(6) Herod. ibid. Sect. 60, &c. 184, &c.

(7) Diod. Sic. Lib. 11. in initio.

(8) Notandum quod quatuor post Cyrum regibus Persarum enumeratis, novem præterierit, et transierit ad Alexandrum. Non enim curæ fuit spiritui prophetali historiæ ordinem sequi; sed præclara quæque perstringere. [Translated in the text.] Hieron. in locum. Col. 1121. Edit. Benedict.

kings of the Persians after Cyrus, slipped over nine, and passeth to Alexander; for the prophetic spirit did not care to follow the order of history, but only to touch upon the most famous events.' Xerxes was the principal author of the long wars and inveterate hatred between the Grecians and Persians; and as he was the last king of Persia who invaded Greece, he is mentioned last. The Grecians then in their turn invaded Asia: and Xerxes's expedition being the most memorable on one side, as Alexander's was on the other, the reigns of these two are not improperly connected together.

Alexander is thus characterized, (ver. 3.) *And a mighty king shall stand up, that shall rule with great dominion, and do according to his will.* That Alexander was *a mighty king* and conqueror; that he *ruled with great dominion*, not only over Greece and the whole Persian empire, but likewise added India to his conquests; and that he *did according to his will*, none daring, not even his friends, to contradict and oppose him, or if they did, like Clitus and Callisthenes, paying for it with their lives; are facts too well known to require any particular proof or illustration.

But his kingdom was soon to be broken and divided; (ver. 4.) *And when he shall stand up, his kingdom shall be broken, and shall be divided towards the four winds of heaven; and not to his posterity, nor according to his dominion which he ruled: for his kingdom shall be pluckt up even for others besides those.* These particulars were in good measure suggested before, (viii. 8, 22.) *He waxed very great, and when he was strong, the great horn was broken; and for it came up four notable ones toward the four winds of heaven. Now that being broken, whereas four stood up for it, four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power.* Alexander died in Babylon, (9) hav-

(9) ἐβίω δὲ δυὼ καὶ τριακοντα ἐτη, καὶ τὸ τρίτου μηνας ἐπελαβεν ὀλου, ὡς λεγει Ἀριστοβουλος· ἐβασιλευσε δὲ δωδεκα ἐτη, καὶ τουτ ὀλου μηνας τουτους· Vixit annos XXXII, menses VIII, ut autor est Aristobulus. Regnavit annos XII, menses VIII. ['He lived two and thirty years, and eight months of the thirty third year, as Aristobulus says. And he reigned twelve years, and these eight months.'] Arrian. Lib. 7. Cap. 28. p. 309. Edit. Gronov.

ing lived only thirty-two years and eight months, of which he reigned twelve years and eight months. In so short a time did this son of glory rise and set: and in the space of about fifteen years afterwards his family and posterity became extinct, and chiefly by the means of Cassander. It was soon after Alexander's death, that his wife Statira, the daughter of Darius, (1) was murdered out of jealousy by his other wife Roxana; and her body was thrown into a well, and earth cast upon it. His natural brother Aridæus, who succeeded him in the throne by the name of Philip, (2) was together with his wife Eurydice killed by the command of Olympias the mother of Alexander, after he had borne the title of king six years and some months: and not long after (3) Olympias herself was slain in revenge by the soldiers of Cassander. Alexander Ægus, the son of Alexander by Roxana, as soon as he was born, was joined in the title of king with Philip Aridæus; and when he had attained to the fourteenth year of his age, (4) he and his mother were privately murdered in the castle of Amphipolis by order of Cassander. In the second year after this, (5) Hercules, the other son of Alexander, by Barsine the widow of Memnon, was also with his mother privately murdered by Polysperchon, induced thereto by the great offers made to him by Cassander. Such was the miserable end of Alexander's family: and then the governors made themselves kings each in his province, from which title they had abstained, (6) as long as any just heir of Alexander was surviving. Thus was Alexander's kingdom *broken and divided not to his posterity*, but *was pluckt up even for others*

(1) Plutarch in fine Vit. Alex. p. 707. Edit. Paris. 1624.

(2) Diod. Sic. Lib. 19. p. 676. Edit. Steph. p. 660. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod. Justin. Lib. 14. Cap. 5.

(3) Diod. Sic. ibid. p. 698, 699. Edit. Steph. p. 694. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod. Justin. Lib. 14. Cap. 6. Pausanias Bœot. sive Lib. 9. p. 725. Edit. Kuhnii.

(4) Diod. Sic. ibid. p. 728. Edit. Steph. p. 739. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod. Justin. Lib. 15. Cap. 2. Pausanias, ibid.

(5) Diod. Sic. Lib. 23. p. 746. Edit. Steph. p. 767. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod. Justin. ibid. Pausanias, ibid.

(6) —quoad Alexandro justus hæres fuit. [Translated in the text.] Justin. ibid.

beside those: and it was *divided towards the four winds of heaven;* for four of his captains, as it hath been shown in former dissertations, prevailed over the rest, and Cassander reigned in Greece and the *west,* Lysimachus in Thrace and the *north,* Ptolemy in Egypt and the *south,* and Seleucus in Syria and the *east.*

But though the kingdom of Alexander was divided into four principal parts, yet only two of them have a place allotted in this prophecy Egypt and Syria. These two were by far the greatest and most considerable: and these two at one time were in a manner the only remaining kingdoms of the four; the (7) kingdom of Macedon having been conquered by Lysimachus and annexed to Thrace; and (8) Lysimachus again having been conquered by Seleucus, and the kingdoms of Macedon and Thrace annexed to Syria. These two likewise continued distinct kingdoms, after the others were swallowed up by the power of the Romans. But there is a more proper and peculiar reason for enlarging upon these two particularly; (9) because Judea lying between them was sometimes in the possession of the kings of Egypt and sometimes of the kings of Syria; and it is the purpose of holy scripture, to interweave only so much of foreign affairs, as hath some relation to the Jews: and it is in respect of their situation to Judea, that the kings of Egypt and Syria are called the kings of the *south* and the *north. And the king of the south shall be strong,* (ver. 5.) *and one of his princes,* that is of Alex-

(7) Justin. Lib. 16. Cap. 3. Plutarch. in Pyrrho. p. 390. Edit. Paris. 1624. Pausanias in Attic. sive Lib. 1. Cap. 10. p. 24. Edit. Kuhnii.

(8) Justin. Lib. 17. Cap. 1 et 2. Appian. de Bell. Syr. p. 128. Edit. Steph. 207. Edit. Tollii. Memnonis Excerpta apud Photium, Cap. 9. p. 714. Edit. Rothom. 1653.

(9) Idcirco autem cætera regna dimittens, Macedoniæ videlicet et Asiæ, tantum de Ægypti et Syriæ narrant regibus: quia in medio Judæa posita hunc ab illis, nunc ab istis regibus tenebatur. Et scripturæ sanctæ propositum est, non externam absque Judæis historiam texere: sed eam quæ Israeli populo copulata est. ['Therefore neglecting the other kingdoms, that is, of Macedon and Asia, he only speaks concerning the sovereigns of Egypt and Syria: Because as Judea was situated between them, it sometimes was possessed by the one, and sometimes by the other. And the design of the holy scriptures is not to give a history of foreign affairs as detached from that of the Jews, but such as is connected with the people of Israel.'] Hieron. in locum. Col. 1122. Edit Benedict.

ander's princes, *and he shall be strong above him.* There is manifestly either some redundance, or some defect (1) in the Hebrew copy; which should be rendered as it is (2) by the Seventy, *And the king of the south shall be strong, and one of his princes shall be strong above him:* or perhaps may better be rendered thus; *And the king of the south shall be strong, and one of his princes; and the king of the north shall be strong above him, and have dominion: his dominion shall be a great dominion.* The *king of the south* was indeed very *strong;* for (3) Ptolemy had annexed Cyprus, Phœnicia, Caria, and many ilands, and cities, and regions in Egypt, as Jerome here commemorates out of the ancients. He had likewise inlarged the bounds of his empire, as (4) Justin testifies, by the acquisition of Cyrene, and was now become so great, that he was in a condition not so much to fear, as to be feared by his enemies. But still the king of the north or Seleucus Nicator, was *stronger above him;* for having annexed, as we have seen, the kingdoms of Macedon and Thrace to the crown of Syria, he was become master of three parts out of four of Alexander's dominions. All historians agree in representing him not only as the longest liver of Alexander's successors, but likewise as (5) the conqueror of the conquerors. Appian in particular (6) enumerates the nations which he subdued and the cities which he built, and affirms that after Alex-

(1) Either the ו in ויחזק is redundant, or the words השפון מלך are wanting.

(2) Και εις των αρχοντων αυτου ενισχυσει επ' αυτον. ['And one of his princes, shall be strong above him.'] Sept.

(3) —ad Ægyptum adjecerat Cyprum, Phœnicen, Cariam, aliasque insulas et regiones, ut hic ex antiquis commemorat Hieronymus. [Translated in the text.] Grot. The words in Jerome are, *et multas insulas urbesque et regiones.* ['Many islands, and cities, and regions.']

(4) —— terminos quoque imperii acquisita Cyrene urbe ampliaverat, factusque jam tantus erat, ut non tam timeret quam timendus ipse hostibus esset. [Translated in the text.] Justin. Lib. 13. Cap. 6.

(5) —— victoremque victorum extitisse—[Translated in the text.] Justin. Lib. 17. Cap. 2.

(6) Appian. de Bell. Syr. p. 193. Edit. Steph. p. 197. Edit. Tollii. ὡς ὡριται τωδε μαλιστα μεια Αλεξανδρον της Ασιας το πλεον. απο γαρ Φρυγιας επι ποταμον Ινδον ανω, πασια Σελευκω κατηκεε· και τον Ινδον περασας, κ. τ. λ. quo excepto [Alexandro] nemo unquam plures terras in Asia tenuit: nam a Phrygiæ terminis Indum usque mediterranea Seleuco parebant omnia: et hoc quoque trajecto, &c. [Translated in the text.] Vide etiam, p. 201. Edit. Tollii.

ander he possessed the largest part of Asia; for all was subject to him from Phrygia up to the river Indus, and beyond it: and (7) afterwards he denominates him expresly, 'the greatest king after Alexander.'

Seleucus Nicator, (8) having reigned seven months after the death of Lysimachus, over the kingdoms of Macedon, Thrace, and Syria, was basely murdered; and to him succeeded in the throne of Syria his son Antiochus Soter, and to Antiochus Soter succeeded his son Antiochus Theus. At the same time Ptolemy Philadelphus reigned in Egypt after his father, the first Ptolemy, the son of Lagus. There were frequent wars between the kings of Egypt and Syria. There were so particularly between Ptolemy Philadelphus the second king of Egypt, and Antiochus the third king of Syria. *And in the end of years they shall join themselves together; for the king's daughter of the south shall come to the king of the north to make an agreement: but she shall not retain the power of the arm, neither shall he stand, nor his arm; but she shall be given up, and they that brought her, and he that begat her, and he that strengthened her in these times.* (ver. 6.) *And in the end of years,* that is after several years; for these wars lasted long, as (9) Jerome reports out of the ancients, and Antiochus Theus fought against Ptolemy Philadelphus with all the forces of Babylon and the east. *They shall join themselves together* or *shall associate themselves:* At length they agreed to make peace upon condition, that (1) Antiochus Theus should

(7) —βασιλεα των μετ' Αλεξανδρον μεγιστον—regem post Alexandrum maximum. [Translated in the text.] p. 128. Edit. Steph. p. 207. Edit. Tollii.

(8) Quippe post menses admodum septem, &c. ['Because after seven months, &c.'] Justin. Lib. 17. Cap. 2. Sect. 4. p. 351. Edit. Grævii. Appian. de Bell. Syr.

(9) Iste adversus Ptolemæum Philadelphum, qui secundus imperabat Ægyptiis, gessit bella quam plurima: et totis Babylonis atque orientis viribus dimicavit. ['He carried on war during many years, against Ptolemy Philadelphus, the second king of the Egyptians, and employed the whole strength of Babylon and the east.'] Hieron. Comment. in locum. Col. 1123. Vol. 3. Edit. Benedict.

(1) Volens itaque Ptolemæus Philadelphus post multos annos molestum finire certamen, filiam suam nomine Berenicen, Antiocho uxorem dedit; qui de priore uxore nomine Laodice, habebat duos filios, &c. ['Ptolemy Philadelphus therefore being desirous to put an end to a contest which had been for many years troublesome to him, gave his daughter named Berenice to Antiochus in marriage, who had two sons by his former wife Laodice, &c.'] Hieron. ibid.

put away his former wife Laodice and her two sons, and should marry Berenice the daughter of Ptolemy Philadelphus. *For the king's daughter of the south shall come to the king of the north to make rights* or *an agreement:* and accordingly (2) Ptolemy Philadelphus brought his daughter to Antiochus Theus, and with her an immense treasure, so that he received the appellation of *the dowry-giver. But she shall not retain the power of the arm,* that is her interest and power with Antiochus; for (3) after some time, in a fit of love, he brought back his former wife Laodice with her children to court again. *Neither shall he stand, nor his arm,* or *his seed;* for (4) Laodice fearing the fickle temper of her husband, lest he should recall Berenice, caused him to be poisoned; and neither did his seed by Berenice succeed him in the kingdom, but Laodice contrived and managed matters so, as to fix her elder son Seleucus Callinicus on the throne of his ancestors. *But she shall be given up;* for Laodice not content with poisoning her husband, (5) caused also Berenice to be murdered. *And they that brought her;* for her (6) Egyptian women and attendants, endevoring to defend her, were many of them slain with her. *And he that begat her,* or rather as it is in the margin, *he whom she brought forth;* for (7) the son was murdered as well as the mother, by order of Laodice. *And he that strengthened her in these times:* her husband Antiochus,

(2) Deduxitque eam usque Pelusium; et infinita auri et argenti millia, dotis nomine dedit: Unde φερνοφορος, id est *dotalis* appellatus est. ['And he brought her to Pelusium, and gave with her as her dowry, an immense quantity of gold and silver: whence he was called φερνοφορος, that is the "Dowry-giver."'] Hieron. ibid.

(3) —post multum temporis amore superatus, Laodicem cum liberis suis reduxit in regiam. [Translated in the text.] Hieron. ibid.

(4) Quæ metuens ambiguum viri animum ne Berenicen reduceret, virum per ministros veneno interfecit, &c. ['Who fearing the inconstancy of her husband, lest he should bring back Berenice, through the agency of her servants, destroyed her husband by poison.'] Hieron. ibid. Appian. de Bell. Syr. p. 130. Edit. Steph. p. 211. Edit. Tollii. Valer. Maximus, L. 9. Cap. 14. Plin. Lib. 7. Sect. 10. Edit. Harduini.

(5) Hieron. ibid. Appian. ibid. Polyæni Strat. Lib. 8. Cap. 50.

(6) Hieron. ibid. αἱ δὲ αμφ' αὐτην γυναικες ὑπερασπιζουσαι προσαπεθανον αἱ πλειονες. Quæ vero circa eam erant mulieres defensionem parantes, plurimæ ceciderunt. [Translated in the text.] Polyænus ibid. p. 801. Ed. Maasvicii.

(7) Hieron. ibid. Appian. ibid. Polyæn. ibid. Justin, Lib. 27. Cap. 1.

as (8) Jerome conceives; or those who took her part and defended her; or rather her father who died a little before, and was so very fond of her, (9) that he took care continually to send her fresh supplies of the water of the Nile, thinking it better for her to drink of that than of any other river, as Polybius relates.

But such wickedness should not pass unpunished and unrevenged. *But out of a branch of her root shall one stand up in his estate,* or rather as it is translated (1) in the Vulgar Latin, *out of a branch of her root shall stand up a plant; and he shall come with an army, and shall enter into the fortress* or the fenced cities *of the king of the north, and shall deal,* shall act *against them and shall prevail: And shall also carry captives into Egypt their gods with their princes,* or rather, (2) *their gods with their molten images, and with their precious vessels of silver and of gold, and he shall continue more years than the king of the north,* or more litterally *he shall continue some years after the king of the north. So the king of the south shall come into his kingdom, and shall return into his own land,* (ver. 7, 8, 9.) This *branch,* which sprung *out of the same root* with Berenice, was Ptolemy Euergetes her brother, who no sooner succeeded his father Ptolemy Philadelphus in the kingdom, than (3) *he came with a great army, and*

(8) Rex quoque Antiochus qui confortabat eam, hoc est, per quem poterat prævalere, veneno uxoris occisus est. ['King Antiochus also, who strengthened her, that is, by whom she was able to retain power, was slain by his wife's poison.'] Hieron. Ibid.

(9) Και ὁ της Αιγυπτ῀ δε βασιλευς δευτερ῵, ὁ Φιλαδελφ῵ επικλην, εκδυς την αυτ῀ θυγατερα Βερενικην Αντιοχῳ τῳ Συριας βασιλει, εν επιμελεια ειχε πεμπειν αυτη το απο τ῀ Νειλ῀ ὑδ῵ρ, ινα μονη τουτῳ τ῀ ποταμ῀ η παις πιη, ὡς ἱστορει Πολυβιος. Ptolemæus secundus Ægypti rex, cognomine Philadelphus, cum filiam Berenicen Antiocho regi Syriæ nuptum dedisset, mittendam ad ipsam Nili aquam sedulo curavit, ut eam solam gnata biberet, quod Polybius scripsit. ['Ptolemy the second, king of Egypt, surnamed Philadelphus, when he had given his daughter Berenice in marriage to Antiochus the king of Syria, was very careful to send the water of the Nile to her, that his child might drink of that only, as Polybius relates.'] Athenæus Lib. 2. p. 45. Edit. Casaubon.

(1) Et stabit de germine radicum ejus plantatio. ['And from a branch of her roots, shall a plant stand up.'] Vulg.

(2) Deos eorum et sculptilia. ['Their gods and graven images.'] Vulg. τ῀ς θεους αυτων μετα των χωνευτων αυτων. ['Their gods together with their molten images.'] Sept. Deos eorum cum fusilibus eorum. ['Their gods with their molten images.'] Arab.

(3) ——de plantatione et de germine radicis ejus, eo quod esset germanus: et venit cum exercitu magno, et ingressus est provinciam regis aquilonis, id est Seleuci cognomento Callinici, qui cum matre Laodice regnabat in Syria:

entered into the provinces of the king of the north, that is of Seleucus Callinicius, who with his mother Laodice reigned in Syria: and he *acted against them*, and *prevailed* so far, that he took Syria and Cilicia, and the upper parts beyond Euphrates, and almost all Asia. And when he had heard that a sedition was raised in Egypt, he plundered the kingdom of Seleucus, and took forty thousand talents of *silver* and *precious vessels*, and *images of the gods*, two thousand and five hundred: among which were also those, which Cambyses, after he had taken Egypt, had carried into Persia. And for thus restoring their gods after many years, the Egyptians who were a nation much addicted to idolatry, complimented him with the title of *Euergetes* or *the benefactor*. This is Jerome's account, extracted from ancient historians: but there are authors still extant, who confirm several of the same particulars. Appian informs us, that (4) Laodice having killed Antiochus, and after him both Berenicè and her child, Ptolemy the son of Philadelphus to revenge these murders invaded Syria, slew Laodice, and proceeded as far as to Babylon. From Polybius we learn, that (5) Ptolemy sirnamed Euerge-

et abusus est eis; et obtinuit, in tantum ut Syriam caperet, et Ciliciam, superioresque partes trans Euphratem, et propemodum universam Asiam. Quumque audisset in Ægypto seditionem moveri, diripiens regnum Seleuci, quadraginta millia talentorum argenti tulit, et vasa pretiosa simulacraque deorum, duo millia quingenta: in quibus erant, et illa quæ Cambyses capta Ægypto, in Persas portaverat. Denique gens Ægyptiorum idololatriæ dedita, quia post multos annos deos eorum retulerat *Euergeten* eum appellavit. [Translated in the text.] Hieron. ibid.

(4) Και αυτον εκλεινε Δαοδικη, και επ' εκεινον Βερενικην τε και το Βερενικης βρεφος, και Πτολιμαιος ὁ της Φιλαδελφου ταυτα τιμωμενος, Λαοδικην τε εκτεινε, και ες Συριαν ετραπετο, και ες Βαβυλωνα ηλασε. Laodice ipsum interfecit, et mox Berenicem cum infantulo. Eam injuriam Ptolemæus Philadelphi filius, ut ulciscereturr, de Laodice sumsit supplicium, et ingressus Syriam, Babylonem usque pervenit. [Translated in the text.] Appian. de Beil. Syr. p. 139. Edit Steph. p. 211. Edit. Tollii.

(5) Συνεβαινε γας Σελευκειαν ετι τοτε κατεχεσθαι φρουραις ὑπο των εξ Αιλυπης βασιλεων, εκ των κατα τον Ευεργετην επικληθεντα Πτολεμαιον καιρων, εν οις εκεινος δια τα Βερενικης συμπωματα, και την ὑπερ εκεινης οργην, στρατευσας εις τας κατα Συριαν τοπους, εγκρατης εγενετο ταυτης της πολεως. Adhuc illa tempestate regum Ægypti præsidiis tenebatur Seleucia, jam inde ab illis temporibus, cum Ptolemæus cognomento Euergeta, propter casum Berenicæ Seleuco regi iratis bello Syriæ illato, ea urbe est potitus. ['For even then Selencia was held by garrisons of the kings of Egypt, from the time that Ptolemy surnamed Euergetes, incensed on account of the cruel treatment of Berenice, had carried war into Syria, and made himself master of that city.'] Polyb. Lib. 5. p. 402, 403. Edit. Casaubon.

tes being greatly incensed at the cruel treatment of his sister Berenice, marched with an army into Syria, and took the city of Seleucia, which was kept for some years afterwards by the garrisons of the kings of Egypt. Thus did he *enter into the fortress of the king of the north.* Polyænus affirms, that (6) Ptolemy made himself master of all the country from mount Taurus as far as to India without war or battle: but he ascribes it by mistake to the father instead of the son. Justin asserts, that (7) if Ptolemy had not been recalled by a domestic sedition into Egypt, he would have possessed the whole kingdom of Seleucus. *So the king of the south came into the kingdom of the north and then returned into his own land.* He likewise *continued more years than the king of the north:* for Seleucus Callinicus (8) died in exile of a fall from his horse, and Ptolemy Euergetes (9) survived him about four or five years.

But his sons, that is the sons of the king of the north, should endevour to vindicate and avenge the cause of their father and their country. *But his sons shall be stirred up, and shall assemble a multitude of great forces; and one shall certainly come, and overflow, and pass through; then shall he return, and be stirred up even to his fortress.* (ver. 10.) The *sons* of Seleucus Callinicus were (1) Seleucus and Antiochus; the elder of whom, Seleucus, succeeded him in the throne, and to distinguish him from others of the same name, was denominated *Ceraunus* or *the thunderer.* Where by the way one cannot help observing the ridiculous vanity of princes in assuming or receiving such pompous appellations without de-

(6) απο τε Ταυρε μεχρι της Ινδικης χωρις πολεμε και μαχης εκρατησε. A Tauro usque ad Indiam absque bello ac pugna superavit. [Translated in the text.] Polyæni Strat. Lib. 8. Cap. 50. p. 802. Edit. Maasvicii.

(7) Qui nisi in Ægyptum domestica seditione revocatus esset, totum regnum Seleuci occupasset. [Translated in the text.] Justin. Lib. 27. Cap. 1.

(8) Justin. Lib. 27. Cap. 3.

(9) See Usher, Prideaux, Blair, and other chronologers.

(1) Post fugam et mortam Seleuci Callinici, duo filii ejus Seleucus cognomento Ceraunus, et Antiochus qui appellatus est Magnus, &c. [' After the flight and death of Selucus Callinicus, his two sons, Seleucus, surnamed Ceraunus, and Antiochus, who was called the Great, &c.'] Hieron. in locum. Col. 1124. Vol. 3. Edit. Benedict. Polyb. L. 4. p. 315. Edit. Casaubon. Appian. de Bell. Syr. p. 131. Edit. Steph. p. 211. Edit. Tollii.

serving them. Seleucus the father was surnamed *Callinicus* or *the famous conqueror*, though he was so far from gaining any considerable victory, that he was shamefully beaten by the Egyptians in the west, and was made a prisoner by the Parthians in the east. In like manner Seleucus the son was called *Ceraunus* or *the thunderer*, though he was so far from performing any thing worthy of the name, that he was a poor and weak prince in all respects in mind and body and estate. Great and splendid titles when improperly applied, are rather a satir and insult upon the persons, than any honor or commendation. Seleucus Ceraunus was indeed *stirred up, and assembled a multitude of great forces*, in order to recover his father's dominions; but (2) being destitute of money, and unable to keep his army in obedience, he was poisoned by two of his generals, after an inglorious reign of two or three years. Upon his decease his brother Antiochus Magnus was proclaimed king, who was more deserving the title of *great*, than Seleucus was of that of *the thunderer*. The prophet's expression is very (3) remarkable, that *his sons should be stirred up, and assemble a multitude of great forces ;* but then the number is changed, and only *one should certainly come, and overflow, and pass through*. Accordingly (4) Antiochus came with a great army, retook Seleucia, and by the means of Theodotus the Ætolian recovered Syria, making him-

(2) Σελευκῳ μεν δη, ασθενει τε οντι και αφνομενῳ, και δυσπειθη τον στρατον εχοντι, επεβουλευσαν οι φιλοι δια φαρμακων, και ες ετη δυο μονα εβασιλευσεν. Seleucus nec valetudine firmus nec opibus, exercitum in officio continere non potuit, veneno sublatus purpuratorum perfidia, post exactum regni annum alterum. [' Seleucus being weak in body, and destitute of money, and unable to keep his army in subjection, was poisoned by his generals. He reigned only two years.'] Appian. ibid. Quumque Seleucus major frater, tertio anno imperii esset occisus in Phrygia, per dolum Nicanoris et Apaturii, &c. [' And when Seleucus the elder brother was slain in Phrygia, in the third year of his reign, by the contrivance of Nicanor and Apaturius, &c.'] Hieron. ibid. Polyb. ibid.

(3) Et propterea nunc infert, quod duo quidem filii provocati sunt, et congregaverunt multitudinem exercituum plurimorum: sed quod unus Antiochus Magnus venerit de Babylone in Syriam, &c. [' And therefore he now introduces the expression, that his two sons being stirred up, should collect an exceeding great army, but that only one of them, Antiochus the great, should come from Babylon into Syria, &c.'] Hieron. ibid.

(4) Polyb. Lib. 5. p. 403, &c. Hieron. ibid.

self master of some places by treaty, and of others by force of arms. Then (5) after a truce, wherein both sides treated of peace, but prepared for war, Antiochus *returned*, and overcame in battle Nicolaus the Egyptian general, and had thoughts of invading Egypt itself.

The king of Egypt at that time was Ptolemy Philopator, who was (6) advanced to the crown upon the death of his father Euergetes, not long after Antiochus Magnus succeeded his brother in the throne of Syria. This Ptolemy was (7) a most luxurious and vicious prince, but was roused at length by the near approach of danger. *And the king of the south shall be moved with choler, and shall come forth and fight with him, even with the king of the north; and he shall set forth a great multitude, but the multitude shall be given into his hand,* (ver. 11.) Ptolemy Philopator was, no doubt *moved with choler* for the losses which he had sustained, and for the revolt of Theodotus and others. And he *came forth;* he (8) marched out of Egypt with a numerous army to oppose the enemy, and encamped not far from Raphia, which is the nearest town to Egypt from Rhinocorura. And there he *fought with him, even with the king of the north;* for thither likewise (9) came Antiochus with his army, and a memorable battle was fought by the two

(5) Polyb. ib. p. 411, &c. Quumque pugnasset adversum duces ejus, imò proditione Theodoti obtinuisset Syriam, quæ per successionem jam a regibus Ægypti tenebatur, in tantam venit audaciam contemta luxuria Philopatoris—ut ultrò Ægyptiis bellum conaretur inferre. ['And when he had fought against his generals, nay, by the treachery of Theodotus, had gotten possession of Syria, which now for a long time had been in the hands of the kings of Egypt, he felt so bold, from the contempt wherein he held the luxury of Philopator,—that he thought of carrying the war into Egypt.'] Hieron. ibid. Antiochus rex Syriæ, veteri inter se regnorum odio stimulante, repentino bello multas urbes ejus [Ptolemæi] oppressit, ipsamque Ægyptum aggreditur. ['Antiochus king of Syria, urged on by the old hatred subsisting between the two kingdoms, suddenly fell upon many of his [Ptolemy's] cities, and attacks Egypt itself.'] Justin. Lib. 30. Chap. 1.

(6) Ptolemæus in Can. Eusebius in Chron. Usher, Prideaux, and the Chronologers.

(7) Polyb. Lib. 5. p. 380, &c. Edit. Casaubon. Strabo. Lib. 17. p. 796. Edit. Paris, 1620. p. 1146. Ed. Amstel. 1707. Plutarch. in Cleomene, p. 820. Edit. Paris, 1624. Justin. Lib. 30. Cap. 1.

(8) Polyb. ibid. p. 421, 422. Hieron. ibid.

(9) Polyb. ibid. p. 423, &c. Strabo, L. 16. p. 759. Edit. Paris. 1620. p. 1102. Ed. Amstel. 1707. Hieron. ibid.

kings. *And he,* the king of the north, *set forth a great multitude;* Polybius hath (1) recited the various nations of which Antiochus's army was composed, and all together it amounted to sixty-two thousand foot, six thousand horse, and 102 elephants. But yet *the multitude was given into his hand,* that is into the hand of the king of the south: for (2) Ptolemy obtained a complete victory; and of Antiochus's army there were slain not much fewer than ten thousand foot, more than three hundred horse, and above four thousand men were taken prisoners; whereas of Ptolemy's there were killed only fifteen hundred foot, and seven hundred horse. Upon this defeat (3) Raphia and the neighbouring towns contended who should be most forward to submit to the conqueror; and Antiochus was forced to retreat with his shattered army to Antioch, and from thence sent embassadors to solicit a peace.

Ptolemy Philopator was more fortunate in gaining a victory, than prudent in knowing how to make a proper advantage of it. *And when he hath taken away the multitude, his heart shall be lifted up, and he shall cast down many ten thousands; but he shall not be strengthened by it.* (ver. 12.) If Ptolemy had pursued the blow that he had

(1) Polyb. ibid. p. 421, 422. Και της μεν Αντιοχου δυναμεως το πληθος ην, πεζοι μεν εξακισμυριοι και δισχιλιοι, συν δε τουτοις ιππεις εξακισχιλιοι, θηρια δε δυσι πλειω των εκατον. Summa totius exercitus Antiochi; peditum duo et septuaginta [sexaginta] millia; equitum sex; elephanti duo supra centum. ['And the multitude of Antiochus' army amounted to sixty-two thousand infantry, and six thousand cavalry, and an hundred and two elephants.']

(2) ησαν δε οι τελευτησαντες των παρ' Αντιοχου, πεζοι μεν ου πολυ λειποντες μυριων, ιππεις δε πλειους τριακοσιων· ζωγρεια δε εαλωσαν υπερ τους τετρακισχιλιους· ——των δε παρα Πτολεμαιου, πεζοι μεν εις χιλιους και πεντακοσιους ετελευτησαν ιππεις δε εις επτακοσιους. Desideravit autem e suis Antiochus non multo pauciores decem millibus peditum: equites trecentos et eo plures: capti sunt vivi supra quatuor millia.—E Ptolemaicis occisi sunt pedites mille et quingenti: equites septingenti. [Translated in the text.] Polyb. ibid. p. 427. Inito ergo certamine juxta oppidum Raphiæ, quod in foribus Ægypti est, omnem Antiochus amisit exercitum; &c. ['In a battle which was fought near the town of Raphia, which is in the borders of Egypt, Antiochus lost his whole army, &c.'] Hieron. ibid.

(3) Polyb. ib. p. 427, 428. Quumque cessisset Syria, ad extremum fœdere, et quibusdam conditionibus pugna finita est. ['And after Syria had submitted, the war at length was put an end to by a treaty, and on certain conditions.'] Hieron. ibid.

given, it is (4) reasonably presumed that he might have deprived Antiochus of his kingdom: but *his heart was lifted up* by his success; being delivered from his fears, he now more freely indulged his lusts; and after a few menaces and complaints he granted peace to Antiochus, that he might be no more interrupted in the gratification of his appetites and passions. He had before (5) murdered his father, and his mother, and his brother; and now (6) he killed his wife, who was also his sister; and (7) gave himself up entirely to the management of Agathoclea his harlot, and her brother Agathocles who was his catamite, and their mother Oenanthe who was his bawd. And (8) so forgetful of all the greatness of his name and majesty, he consumed his days in feasting, and his nights in lewdness; and became not only the spectator, but the master and leader of all wickedness. And what availed it to have conquered his enemies, when he was thus overcome by his vices? he was so far from being *strengthened* by it, that even (9) his own subjects, offended at his inglorious peace, and more inglorious life, rebelled against him. But the prophet in this passage alluded more particularly to the case of his own countrymen. After the retreat of Antiochus, Ptolemy (1) visited the cities of Cœle Syria and Palestine, which had submitted to him; and among others in his progress he came to Jerusalem. He there offered sacrifices, and was desirous of entring into the holy of holies, contrary to the custom and religion of the place, being (as the (2) writer of the third book of Maccabees

(4) Justin. Lib. 30. Cap. 1.——spoliassetque regno Antiochum, si fortunam virtute juvisset. [*'He would have deprived Antiochus of his kingdom, if his courage had co-operated with his good fortune.'*] *Polyb. Lib.* 5. p. 428. Edit. Casaubon.

(5) Justin. Lib. 29. Cap. 1. *Polyb. Lib. 5. p. 380, 382.*

(6) Justin. Lib. 30. Cap. 1. *Polyb. Lib. 15. p. 719.*

(7) Plutarch in Cleomene, p. 820. Edit. Paris, 1624. Polyb. Lib. 15. passim. Justin. Lib. 30. Cap. 1 et 2.

(8) Atque ita omnem magnitudinem nominis ac majestatis oblitus, noctes in stupris, dies in conviviis consumit—nec jam spectator rex, sed magister nequitiæ. [Translated in the text.] Justin. ibid. Cap. 1.

(9) Polyb. Lib. 5. p. 444.

(1) For these particulars the 3d book of Maccabees must be consulted.

(2) ὕβρει καὶ θράσει μεγαλῳ̃ς ἐπηρμένον. [Translated in the Text.] 3. Macc, ii. 21.

says) greatly lifted up by pride and confidence. His curiosity was restrained with great difficulty, and he departed with heavy displeasure against the whole nation of the Jews. At his return therefore to Alexandria, he began a cruel persecution upon the Jewish inhabitants of that city, who had resided there from the time of Alexander, and enjoyed the privileges of the most favored citizens. *And he cast down many ten thousands;* for it appears from (3) Eusebius, that about this time forty thousand Jews were slain, or sixty thousand as they are reckoned in Jerome's Latin interpretation. No king could be *strengthened* by the loss of such a number of useful subjects. The loss of so many Jews, and the rebellion of the Egyptians, added to the male-administration of the state, must certainly very much weaken, and almost totally ruin the kingdom.

Peace was to continue between the two crowns of Egypt and Syria for some years, and then the king of the north should attempt another invasion. *For the king of the north shall return, and shall set forth a multitude greater than the former, and shall certainly come, after certain years,* (at the end of times, that is years) *with a great army, and with much riches.* (ver. 13.) The following events, you see, were not to take place till *after certain years;* and the peace continued between the two crowns (4) about fourteen years. In that time Ptolemy Philopator (5) died of intemperance and debauchery, and was succeeded by his son Ptolemy Epiphanes, a child of four or five years old. Antiochus too, (6) having taken and slain the rebel Achæus, and having (7) also reduced and settled the eastern parts in their obedience, was at leisure to prosecute any enterprise, and could not let slip so favorable an opportunity of extending his dominions.

(3) Ιουδαιοι ηφθειλες, τεσσαρακοντα χιλιαδας ὁπλιων αποβαλομενοι. Eusebii Chron. p. 185. Victi Judæi: et LX millia armatorum ex numero eorum cæsa. Interprete Hieron. p. 143. ['The Jews were overcome, and forty thousand armed men were slain.']

(4) See Usher, Prideaux, and the Chronologers.

(5) Ptolem. in Canone, Eusebius, Justin. Lib. 30. Cap. 2. Hieron, &c.

(6) Polyb. Lib. 8. p. 522, &c. Edit. Casaubon.

(7) Polyb. Lib. 10 et 11. Appian. de Bell. Syr. in principio.

He had acquired great riches, and collected many forces in the eastern expedition; so that he was enabled to *set forth a greater multitude than the former*, and he doubted not to have an easy victory over an infant king. Polybius expresly informs us, that (8) from the king of Bactria and from the king of India he received so many elephants as made up his number 150, besides provisions and riches. Jerome out of ancient authors affirms, that (9) he gathered together an incredible army out of the countries beyond Babylon; and contrary to the league he marched with this army, Ptolemy Philopator being dead, against his son, who was then four years old, and was called Ptolemy Epiphanes, or the illustrious. Justin also says, that (1) Ptolemy Philopator king of Egypt being dead, in contempt of the childhood of his son, who being left heir to the kingdom was a prey even to his domestics, Antiochus king of Syria was resolved to take possession of Egypt; as if the thing were as easily executed, as resolved.

But Antiochus was not the only one who rose up against young Ptolemy. Others also confederated with him. *And in those times there shall many stand up against the king of the south: also the robbers of thy people shall exalt themselves to establish the vision, but they shall fall.* (ver. 14.) Agathocles (2) was in possession of the young king's person; and he was so dissolute and proud in the exercise of his power, that the provinces

(8) Και λαβων ελεφαντας, ὡστε γενεσθαι της ἀπαντας εις ἑκατον και πεντηκοντα. κ. τ. λ. Ibi quoque elephantos alios accepit, ut jam centum quinquaginta bestias haberet, &c. [' And having procured elephants, so that altogether they amounted to an hundred and fifty, &c.'] Polyb. Lib. 11. p. 652.

(9) — Incredibilem de superioribus locis Babylonis exercitum congregavit. Et Ptolemæo Philopatore mortuo adversum filium ejus, qui tunc quatuor annorum erat, et vocabatur Ptolemæus Επιφανης, rupto fœdere movit exercitum. [Translated in the text.] Hieron. in locum. Col. 1124.

(1) Mortuo Ptolemæo Philopatore rege Ægypti, contemptâque parvuli filii ejus ætate qui in spem regni relictus prædæ etiam domesticis erat, Antiochus rex Syriæ occupare Ægyptum statuit. [Translated in the text.] Justin. Lib. 31. Cap. 1.

(2) Polyb. Lib. 15. p. 712, &c. Edit. Casaubon. Tantæ enim dissolutionis et superbiæ Agathocles fuit, ut subditæ prius Ægypto provinciæ rebellarent; ipsaque Ægyptus seditionibus vexaretur. [' For Agathocles was so dissolute and proud, that the provinces formerly subject to Egypt rebelled, and Egypt itself was disturbed by seditions.'] Hieron. ibid. Justin. Lib. 30. Cap. 2.

which before were subject to Egypt rebelled, and Egypt itself was disturbed by seditions; and the people of Alexandria rose up in a body against Agathocles, and caused him, and his sister, and mother, and their associates, to be put to death. Philip too (3) the king of Macedon entered into a league with Antiochus, to divide Ptolemy's dominions between them, and each to take the parts which lay nearest and most convenient to him. And this is the meaning, as (4) Jerome concludes, of the prophet's saying, that many shall rise up together against the king of the south. *Also the robbers of thy people.* It is litterally (5) *the sons of the breakers*, the sons of the revolters, the factious and refractory ones *of thy people;* for the Jews were at that time *broken* into factions, part adhering to the king of Egypt, and part to the king of Syria; but the majority were for *breaking away* from their allegiance to Ptolemy. In the Vulgate it is (6) translated, *the sons also of the prevaricators of thy people;* in the Septuagint, *the sons of the pestilent ones of thy people.* What shall they do? *shall exalt themselves to establish the vision;* shall revolt from Ptolemy, and thereby shall contribute greatly, without their knowing it, towards the accomplishment of this prophecy concerning the calamities, which should be brought upon the Jewish nation by the succeeding kings of Syria. That the Jews revolted from Ptolemy is evident from what Jerome affirms, that (7) the provinces which before

(3) Philippus quoque rex Macedonum, et magnus Antiochus pace facta, adversum Agathoclen et Ptolemæum Epiphanem dimicarent, *sub* hac conditione, ut proximas civitates regno suo singuli de regno Ptolemæi jungerent. ['Philip also the king of Macedon, and Antiochus the great entered into a confederacy to fight against Agathocles and Ptolemy Epiphanes under this condition; that each of them should annex such parts of Ptolemy's kingdom as lay nearest to their own dominions.'] Hieron. ibid. Polyb. Lib. 3. p. 159. Lib. 15. p. 707. Justin. ibid.

(4) Et hoc est quod nunc dicit multos consurgere adversus regem Austri, Ptolemæum scilicet Epiphanem, qui erat ætate puerilli. ['This is what the prophet means by saying now, that many rise up together against the king of the south, namely against Ptolemy Epiphanes, who was then in a state of childhood.'] Hieron. ibid.

(5) ובני פריצי עמך. [Translated in the text.] Vide 1 Sam. xxv. 10.

(6) Filii quoque prævaricatorum populi tui. Vul. οἱ υἱοι των λοιμων του λαου σου. [Translated in the text.] Sept.

(7) — ut subditæ prius Ægypto provinciæ rebellarent. [Translated in text.] Hieron. ibid.

were subject to Egypt rebelled: and (8) heathen authors intimate, that Antiochus took possession of the cities of Cœle-Syria and Palestine without any opposition, at least they do not mention any. *But they shall fall;* for (9) Scopas came with a powerful army from Ptolemy, and Antiochus being engaged in other parts, soon reduced the cities of Cœle-Syria and Palestine to their former obedience. He subdued the Jews in the winter season, placed a garrison in the castle of Jerusalem, and returned with great spoils to Alexandria; for he was (1) noted above all men for his avarice and rapacity. The expression of Josephus is remarkable, that (2) the Jews submitted to Scopas by force, but to Antiochus they submitted willingly.

It was in the absence of Antiochus, that these advantages were obtained by the army of Egypt, but his presence soon turned the scale, and changed the whole face of affairs. *So the king of the north shall come, and cast up a mount, and take the most fenced cities,* or *the city of munitions, and the arm of the south shall not withstand, neither his chosen people, neither shall there be any strength to withstand. But he that cometh against him shall do according to his own will, and none shall stand before him: and he shall stand in the glorious land, which by his hand shall be consumed.* (ver. 15 and 16.) Antiochus (3) being willing to recover Judea, and the cities

(8) Polyb. Lib. 3. p. 159. Appian. de Bell. Syr. in principio.

(9) Hieron. Col. 1125. Polyb. apud Joseph. et Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 3. Sect. 3. p. 520, 521. Edit. Hudson.

(1) Polyb. Lib. 17. p. 773.

(2) πεπολεμωμενον γαρ αυτω προσεθετο, oppugnata enim, in ejus partes concessit. ['For they surrendered to him, being subdued in war.'] εκουσιως αυτω προσεθεντο Ιουδαιοι Judæi ultro deditionem secerunt. ['The Jews spontaneously submitted to him.'] Joseph. ibid.

(3) Antiochus enim volens Judæam recuperare, et Syriæ urbes plurimas, Scopam ducem Ptolemæi juxta fontes Jordanis, ubi nunc Paneas condita est, inito certamine fugavit, et cum decem millibus armatorum obsedit clausum in Sidone. Ob quem liberandum misti Ptolemæus duces inclytos Eropum et Menoclem, et Damoxenum. Sed obsidionem solvere non potuit: donec fame superatus Scopas manus dedit, et nudus cum sociis dimissus est. ['For Antiochus, desirous of recovering Judea, and very many cities in Syria, in a battle near the fountains of Jordan, where the town of Paneas now stands, put to flight Scopas, Ptolemy's general; and shut him up in Sidon with ten thousand of his men, and besieged him there. To deliver

of Cœle-Syria and Palestine, which Scopas had taken, came again into those parts. Scopas was sent again to oppose him, and Antiochus fought with him near the sources of the river Jordan, destroyed a great part of his army, and pursued him to Sidon, where he shut him up with ten thousand men, and closely besieged him. Three famous generals were sent from Egypt to raise the siege; but they could not succeed, and at length Scopas was forced by famin, to surrender upon the hard conditions of having life only granted to him and his men; they were obliged to lay down their arms, and were sent away stript and naked. This event, I conceive, was principally intended by his *casting up a mount, and taking the city of munitions;* for Sidon was an exceeding strong city in its situation and fortifications. But if we take the phrase more generally, as our translators understand it, Antiochus, after the success of this battle and of this siege, reduced other countries and took other *fenced cities,* which are mentioned by (4) Polybius, and recited by Jerome out of the Greek and Roman historians. *The arms of the south* could *not withstand* him, *neither his chosen people*; neither Scopas, nor the other great generals, nor the choicest troops who were sent against him: but he *did according to his own will, and none* was able *to stand before him;* for he soon (5) rendered himself master of all Cœle-Syria and Palestine. Among others (6) the Jews also readily submitted to him, went forth in solemn procession to meet him, received him splendidly into their city, supplied him with plenty of provisions for all his army and elephants, and assisted him in besieging the garrison, which Scopas had left in the citadel. Thus he *stood in the glorious land,* and his power was established

him, Ptolemy sent Europus, Menocles, and Damoxenus, three illustrious generals, but they were unable to raise the siege. At length Scopas, overcome by famine, surrendered, and being stript naked, was suffered to depart with his companions.'] Hieron. ibid. Joseph. ibid. Valesii Excerpta ex Polyb. p. 77, &c.

(4) Polyb. apud Joseph. ibid. Hieron. ibid.

(5) Liv. Lib. 33. Cap. 19. Justin. Lib. 31. Cap. 1. Polyb. Legat. 72. p. 839.

(6) Joseph. ibid.

in Judea. *Which by his hand shall be consumed:* So this passage is generally understood and translated, and commentators hereupon observe that (7) Josephus relates, that, 'Antiochus the Great reigning in Asia, the 'Jews, their country being wasted, suffered many things, 'as well as the inhabitants of Cœle-Syria. For Antio-'chus warring against Ptolemy Philopator, and against 'his son Ptolemy Epiphanes, it was their fate to suffer, 'whether he was conqueror, or was beaten, so that they 'were like a ship tost in a tempest, and lying between 'both were sure to suffer, which ever side prevailed.' But then they could not be said to be *consumed by the hand of Antiochus* particularly; they were consumed as much or more by Scopas: and the word is capable of another interpretation, which agrees as well with the truth of the Hebrew, and better with the truth of history. It may be translated, *Which shall be perfected,* or prosper, or florish, *in his hand.* The original will well admit of this sense, and the event confirms it. For Antiochus, to reward and encourage the Jews in their fidelity and obedience to him, (8) gave order that their city should be repaired, and the dispersed Jews should

(7) Τȣς γαρ Ιȣδαιȣς, επ' Αντιοχȣ τȣ Μεγαλȣ βασιλευοντος της Ασιας, ετυχεν αυτȣς τε πολλα ταλαιπωρησαι της γης αυτων κακωμενης, και τȣς την Κοιλην Συριαν νεμομενȣς. πολεμȣντος γαρ αυτȣ προς τον Ευπατορα Πτολεμαιον, και προς τον υιον αυτȣ Πτολεμαιον, τον κληθενια Επιφανη, κακοπαθειν συνεβαινεν αυτοις και νικωντος, και πταιοντος ταυτα πασχειν. ὡς' ȣδεν απελειπον χειμαζομενης νεως, και πονȣμενης εκατερωθεν ὑπο τȣ κλυδωνος, μεταξυ της ευπραγιας της Αντιοχȣ, και της επι θατερον αυτȣ τροπης των πραγματων κειμενοι. Regnante in Asia Antiocho Magno, accidit ut tum Judæi terra eorum vastata, tum qui Cœle-Syriam incolebant, multa adversa paterentur. Eco enim belligerante adversus Ptolemæum Eupatorem [Alibi constanter *Philopatorem* eum vocat] et ejus filium cognomine Epiphanem, contigit, illis, ut si is superior fuerit, affligerentur, si inferior, plane eadem paterentur: adeo ut haud dissimiles essent navi in tempestate, fluctibus utrinque vexatæ, ut qui in medio jacerent, dum et Antiocho res prospere cederent et in contrarias partes mutarentur. ['While Antiochus the Great was reigning in Asia, both the Jews and the inhabitants of Cœle-Syria, by the laying waste of their countries, suffered many things. For when he carried on war against Ptolemy Eupator, [every where else he calls him Ptolemy Philopator,] and against his son surnamed Epiphanes, it happened that whether he was conqueror or conquered, they suffered alike; so that they were like a ship at sea in a storm, tossed by the waves on both sides, for whether Antiochus prospered, or met with a reverse, their sufferings were the same.'] Joseph. ibid.

(8) Vide Epist. Antiochi apud Joseph. ibid.

return and inhabit it; that they should be supplied with cattle and other provisions for sacrifices; that they should be furnished with timber and other materials for finishing and adorning the temple; that they should live all according to the laws of their country; that the priests and elders, the scribes and levites should be exempted from the capitation and other taxes: that those who then inhabited the city, or should return to it within a limited time, should be free from all tribute for three years, and the third part of their tribute should be remitted to them for ever after; and also that as many as had been taken and forced into servitude, should be released, and their substance and goods be restored to them. Where Grotius remarks, (9) that what is said about *finishing* and *completing* the temple, answers exactly to the word *perfected* or *consummated* in the Hebrew. Thus also (1) the Seventy translate it, and thus (2) Theodoret explains it; 'And it shall be *perfected by his hand*, that is it shall 'prosper; for so likewise Josephus hath taught us in his 'history, that the Jews of their own accord having re-'ceived Antiochus, were greatly honored by him.'

Antiochus the Great, like other ambitious princes, the more he attained, aspired the more to conquest and dominion. *He shall also set his face to enter with the strength of his whole kingdom, and upright ones with him: thus shall he do, and he shall give him the daughter of women corrupting her,* or *to corrupt her: but she shall stand on his side, neither be for him.* (ver. 17.) *He shall also set his face to enter with the strength of his whole kingdom,* or rather *He shall also set his face to*

(9) Ubi απαρτισθηναι est quod hic כלה quod alibi per συντελειν (consummare) alibi per τελειων (finire) aut πληρων (implere) vertunt LXX. ['Where απαρτισθηναι is the same as כלה here; which the LXX. in some places render by συντελειν (to consummate) in others, by τελειων (to finish) or πληρων (to complete.)'] Grot. in locum.

(1) Και τελεσθησεται εν τη χειρι αυτου. ['And it shall be finished by his hand.'] Sept.

(2) Και συντελεσθησεται εν τη χειρι αυτου.] Τελειν ευοδωθησεται· ουτω γαρ ημας και ὁ Ιωσηππος δια της ιστοριας εδιδαξεν ὁτι αυτομαλιο τον Αντιοχον οι Ιουδαιοι δεξαμενοι σφοδρα ὑπ' αυτου ετιμηθησαν. Hoc est, prospere ei succedet. Sic enim nos item Josephus docuit in historia. Judæos Antiocho ultro accepto, magno in honore ab illo habitos fuisse. [Translated in the text.] Theod. in locum. Vol. 2. p. 681. Edit. Sirmondi.

enter by force the whole kingdom: and Antiochus not contented with having rent the principal provinces from Egypt, was forming schemes (3) to seize upon the whole kingdom. *And upright ones with him; thus shall he do:* If this translation be right, *the upright ones* here intended are the Jews, who marched under the banners of Antiochus, and are so denominated to distinguish them from the other idolatrous soldiers. But the (4) Seventy and the Vulgar Latin exhibit a much more probable translation, that *he shall set things right,* or *make agreement with him,* as the phrase is used before. (ver. 6.) Antiochus would have seised upon the kingdom of Egypt by force: but as he was (5) meditating a war with the Romans, he judged it better to proceed by stratagem, and to carry on his designs by treaty rather than by arms. For this purpose *he shall give him the daughter of women,* his daughter so called as being one of the most eminent and beautiful of women: and accordingly (6) Antiochus proposed a treaty of marriage by Eucles the Rhodian, betrothed his daughter Cleopatra to Ptolemy in the seventh year of his reign, and married her to him in the thirteenth. He conducted her himself to Raphia, where they were married; and gave in dowry with her the provinces of Cœle-Syria and Palestine, upon condition of the revenues being equally divided between the two kings. All this he transacted with a fraudulent intention, *to corrupt her,* and induce her to betray her husband's interests to her

(3) Κατα σπουδην ὁ Αντιοχος απηει, ὡς Αιγυπτον ερημον αρχοντος αρπασομενος· properavit in Ægyptum, ut occuparet orbatam principe. [' And Antiochus departed in haste, in order to seize Egypt while deprived of its prince.'] Appian. de Bell. Syr. p. 88. Edit. Steph. p. 144. Edit. Tollii. Antiochus rex Syriæ occupare Ægyptum statuit. [' Antiochus the Syrian king resolved to possess himself of Egypt.'] Justin. Lib. 31. Cap. 1.

(4) Και ευθεια παντα μετ' αυτου ποιησει. Sept. Et recta faciet cum eo. Vulg. [Translated in the text.]

(5) Appian. Ibid. p. 145.

(6) ——— filiam suam Cleopatram per Euclem Rhodium, septimo anno regni adolescentis, despondit Ptolemæo, et tertio decimo anno tradidit, data ei dotis nomine omni Cœle-Syria et Judæa. [' He betrothed his daughter Cleopatra, by means of Eucles the Rhodian, to Ptolemy, in the seventh year of the reign of the young king, and delivered her over in marriage to him in the thirteenth year, with Cœle-Syria and Judea, as her dowry.'] Hieron. in locum. Col. 1126. Appian. ibid. Liv. Lib. 35. Cap. 13. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 4. Sect. 1. p. 523. Edit. Hudson.

father. But his designs did not take effect; *she shall not stand on his part, neither be for him.* Ptolemy and his generals (7) were aware of his artifices, and therefore stood upon their guard: and Cleopatra herself affected more the cause of her husband than of her father; insomuch that (8) she joined with her husband in an embassy to the Romans to congratulate them upon the victories over her father, and to exhort them, after they had expelled him out of Greece, to prosecute the war in Asia, assuring them at the same time that the king and queen of Egypt would readily obey the commands of the senate.

Antiochus having, as he thought, secured all things behind him, engaged in an unhappy war with the Romans. *After this shall he turn his face unto the iles, and shall take many: but a prince for his own behalf shall cause the reproach offered by him, to cease; without his own reproach he shall cause it to turn upon him.* (ver. 18.) Antiochus (9) fitted out a formidable fleet of one hundred large ships of war, and two hundred other lesser vessels. With this fleet *he turned his face unto the iles* of the Mediterranean; subdued most of the maritim places on the coasts of Asia, Thrace, and Greece; and *took* Samos, Eubœa, and *many* other ilands. This was a great indignity and *reproach offered* to the Romans, (1) when their confederates were thus oppressed, and the cities, which they had lately restored to liberty, were enslaved.

(7) Ptolemæus Epiphanes et duces ejus sentientes dolum, cautius se egerunt, et Cleopatra magis viri partes, quam parentis sovit. [Translated in the text.] Hieron. ibid.

(8) Legati ab Ptolemæo et Cleopatra, regibus Ægypti, gratulantes quod Manius Acilius consul Antiochum regem Græcia expulisset, venerunt: adhortantesque ut in Asiam exercitum traduceret———reges Ægypti ad ea, buæ censuisset senatus, paratos fore. ['Ambassadors from Ptolemy and Cleopatra, the sovereigns of Egypt, came to congratulate them on occasion of Manius Acilius the consul having driven king Antiochus out of Greece: and to stir them up to invade his dominions in Asia,—and to assure them that they were ready to obey the order of the Senate.'] Liv. Lib. 37. Cap. 3.

(9) Liv. Lib. 33. Cap. 19, 20, 38, &c. Appian. de Bell. Syr. p. 86, 89, 93, &c. Edit. Steph. p. 142, 145, 151, &c. Edit. Tollii. Hieron. ibid. Aurel. Victor de Viris Illust. Cap. 54. statimque Græciam insulasque ejus occupavit. ['And immediately took Greece and its islands.']

(1) Appian. de Bell. Syr. p. 87. Edit. Steph. p. 143. Edit. Tollii. Liv. Lib. 33. Cap. 39. Lib. 34. Cap. 58. Polyb. Lib. 17. p. 769. Edit. Casaubon.

But a prince, or rather *a leader, a general,* meaning the Roman generals, *repelled the injury, and caused his reproach to cease. Acilius the consul (2) fought with Antiochus at the straits of Thermopylæ, routed him, and* expelled him *out of Greece: Livius and Æmilius beat* his fleets at sea: and Scipio finally obtained a decisive victory over him in Asia near the city Magnesia at the foot of mount Sipylus. Antiochus lost fifty thousand foot, and four thousand horse in that day's engagement; fourteen hundred were taken prisoners, and he himself escaped with difficulty. Upon this defeat he (3) was necessitated to sue for peace, and was obliged to submit to very dishonourable conditions, not to set foot in Europe, and to quit all Asia on this side of mount Taurus, to defray the whole charges of the war, &c. and to give twenty hostages for the performance of these articles, one of whom was his youngest son Antiochus, afterwards called Epiphanes. By these means (4) he and his successors became tributary to the Romans: so truly and effectually did they not only *cause the reproach offered by him to cease,* but greatly to their honor *caused it to turn upon him.*

Antiochus did not long survive this disgrace; and the latter part of his life and reign was as mean, as the former part had been glorious. *Then shall he turn his face towards the fort of his own land: but he shall stumble and fall and not be found.* (ver. 19.) Antiochus after the battle (5) fled away that night to Sardes, and from thence to Apaméa, and the next day he came into Syria, to Antioch *the fort of his own land.* It was from thence that he sent embassadors to sue for peace; and (6) within a few days after peace was granted, he sent part of the money demanded, and the hostages to the Roman con-

(2) Liv. Lib. 36 et 37. Appian. de Bell. Syr. Florus. Lib. 2. Cap. 8. Justin. Lib. 31. Cap. 6, 7, 8.

(3) Polyb. Legat. 24. p. 816, 817. Liv. Lib. 37. Cap. 45. Appian. de Bell. Syr. p. 111, &c. Edit. Steph. p. 178, &c. Edit. Tollii. Justin. ibid.

(4) 1 Macc. viii. 7.

(5) Liv. Lib. 37. Cap. 44. Appian. de Bell. Syr. p. 110, Edit. Steph. p. 177. Edit. Tollii.

(6) Polyb. Legat. 24. p. 817. Liv. Lib. 37. Cap. 45.

sul at Ephesus. He is (7) reported indeed to have borne his losses with great equanimity of temper, and said that he was much obliged to the Romans for easing him from a great deal of care and trouble, and for confining him within the bounds of a moderate empire. But whatever he might pretend, he lived in distress and poverty for a great king, being under the greatest difficulties how to raise the money which he had stipulated to pay to the Romans; and his necessity or his avarice prompted him at last to commit sacrilege. He (8) marched into the eastern provinces, to collect there the arrears of tribute, and amass what treasure he could: and attempting to plunder the rich temple of Jupiter Belus in Elymaïs, he was assaulted by the inhabitants of the country, was defeated, and himself and all his attendants were slain. So Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Justin, and Jerome relate the manner and circumstances of his death. Aurelius Victor reports it otherwise, and affirms (9) that he was slain by some of his companions, whom in his liquor he had beaten at a banquet; but his account deserves not so much credit as the concurrent

(7) Cicero pro Deiotara. Cap. 13. Valerius Maximus, Lib. 4. Cap. 1.

(8) Diodor. Sic. in Excerpt. Valesii. p. 292 et 298. Strabo, Lib. 16. p. 744. Edit. Paris, 1620. p. 1080. Edit. Amstel. 1707. Interea in Syria rex Antiochus, cum gravi tributo pacis, a Romanis victus, oneratus esset, seu inopia pecuniæ compulsus, seu avaritia sollicitatus, qua sperabat se, sub specie tributariæ necessitas, excusatius sacrilegia commissurum, adhibito exercitu, nocte templum Elymæi Jovis aggreditur. Qua re prodita, concursu insularium, cum omni militia interficitur. ['In the mean time king Antiochus in Syria, who, having been vanquished by the Romans, had been loaded with the payment of an heavy tribute, as the condition of peace, compelled either by want of money, or hurried on by his own covetousness; and hoping that in the pretext of the necessity under which he lay of paying the tribute, he might find a ready excuse for the commission of sacrilege; marches his army, and attacks in the night-time the temple of Jupiter Elymais. But his design having been discovered, he and his whole army were destroyed in a conflict with the inhabitants.'] Justin. Lib. 32. Cap. 2. Victus ergo Antiochus, intra Taurum regnare jussus est: inde fugit ad Apamiam, ac Susam, et ultimas regni sui penetravit urbes. Quumque adversum Elymæos pugnaret, cum omni est delectus exercitu. ['Antiochus having been vanquished, was ordered to confine his authority within mount Taurus; from thence he fled to Apamia, and Susa, and advanced as far as the most distant cities of his kingdom. But when he was fighting against the Elymeans, he was destroyed with his whole army.'] Hieron. ibid.

(9) A sodalibus, quos temulentus in convivio pulsaverat, occisus est. [Translated in the text.] Aurel. Victor de Viris Illustr. Cap. 54.

testimony of earlier historians. However it was, his death was inglorious, he *stumbled and fell, and was no more found.*

His successor was far from retrieving the splendor and glory of the nation. *Then shall stand up in his estate a raiser of taxes in the glory of the kingdom;* or rather according to the original, and as we read in the margin, *one that causeth an exactor to pass over the glory of the kingdom: but within few days he shall be destroyed, neither in anger, nor in battle.* (ver. 20.) Seleucus Philopator succeeded his father Antiochus the great in the throne of Syria: but as (1) Jerome affirms, he performed nothing worthy of the empire of Syria and of his father, and perished ingloriously without fighting any battles. As Appian also testifies, he reigned (2) both idly and weakly, by reason of his father's calamity. He had an inclination to break the peace, and shake off the Roman yoke; but had not the courage to do it. He (3) raised an army with intent to march over mount Taurus to the assistance of Pharnaces king of Pontus: but his dread of the Romans confined him at home, within the bounds prescribed to him; and almost as soon as he had raised, he disbanded his army. The tribute of a thousand talents, which he was obliged to pay annually to the Romans, was indeed a grievous burden to him and his kingdom: and he was little more than *a raiser of taxes* all his days. He was tempted even to commit sacrilege; for (4) being informed of the money that was deposited in the temple of Jerusalem, he sent his treasurer Heliodorus to seise it. This was litterally *causing an*

(1) Seleucum dicit cognomento Philopatorem filium magni Antiochi, qui nihil dignum Syriæ, et patris gessit imperio; et absque ullis præliis inglorius periit. [' He means Seleucus sirnamed Philopator, the son of Antiochus the Great, who performed nothing worthy of the kingdom of Syria, nor of his father; and who died without renown, having fought no battles.'] Hieron. ibid.

(2) — απρακτως ἁμα και ασθενως, δια την τȣ πατρος συμφοραν. otiosus nec admodum potens, propter cladem quam pater acceperat. [Translated in the text.] Appian. de Bell. Syr. p. 131. Edit. Steph. p. 212. Edit. Tollii.

(3) Diod. Sic. in Excerpt. Valesii. p. 302. Usher's Annals. A. M. 3823. A. C. 181. p. 403.

(4) 2 Macc. iii. 7. Josephus de Maccabæis. Sect. 4. p. 1395. Edit. Hudson.

exactor to pass over the glory of the kingdom, when he sent his treasurer to plunder that temple, which (5) *even kings did honor, and magnify with their best gifts, and* where Seleucus himself, *of his own revenues, bare all the costs belonging to the service of the sacrifices. But within few days,* or rather *years,* according to the prophetic stile, he was to *be destroyed;* and his reign was of short duration in comparison with his father's; for he (6) reigned only twelve years, and his father thirty-seven. Or perhaps the passage may be better thus expounded, that *within few days* or *years,* after his attempting to plunder the temple of Jerusalem, he should *be destroyed:* and not long after that, as all chronologers agree, he was *destroyed, neither in anger nor in battle,* neither in rebellion at home, nor in war abroad, but (7) by the treachery of his own treasurer Heliodorus. The same wicked hand, that was the instrument of his sacrilege, was also the instrument of his death. Seleucus having (8) sent his only son Demetrius to be an hostage at Rome instead of his brother Antiochus, and Antiochus being not yet returned to the Syrian court, Heliodorus thought this a fit opportunity to dispatch his master, and in the absence of the next heirs to the crown, to usurp it to himself. But he was disappointed in his ambitious projects, and only made way for another's usurped greatness, instead of his own.

Few circumstances are mentioned relating to Seleucus Philopator; many more particulars are predicted of his brother and successor Antiochus Epiphanes, as he was indeed a more extraordinary person, and likewise a greater enemy and oppressor of the Jews. *And in his estate shall stand up a vile person, to whom they shall not give the honor of the kingdom: but he shall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries.* (ver. 21.) Antiochus returning from Rome, (9) was at Athens in his way to

(5) 2 Macc. iii. 2, 3.

(6) Vide Appian. ibid.

(7) εξ επιβυλης Ηλιοδωρυ τινος των περι αυτον αποθνησκει. Insidiis Heliodori cujusdam purpurati oppressus est. ['He died by the treachery of Heliodorus, one of his courtiers.'] App. de Bell. Syr. p. 116. Edit. Steph. p. 187. Edit. Tollii.

(8) Vide Appian. ibid.

(9) Appian. ibid.

Syria, when his father Seleucus died by the treachery of Heliodorus: and *the honor of the kingdom was not given to him;* for Heliodorus attempted to get possession of it himself; another (1) party declared in favor of Ptolemy Philometor king of Egypt, whose mother Cleopatra was the daughter of Antiochus the great, and sister of the late king Seleucus; and neither was Antiochus Epiphanes the right heir to the crown, but his nephew Demetrius the son of Seleucus, who was then an hostage at Rome. However he *obtained the kingdom by flatteries.* He flattered (2) Eumenes king of Pergamus and Attalus his brother, and by fair promises engaged their assistance, and they the more readily assisted him, as they were at that juncture jealous of the Romans, and were willing therefore to secure a friend in the king of Syria. He flattered too (3) the Syrians, and with great show of clemency obtained their concurrence. He flattered also (4) the Romans, and sent embassadors to court their favor, to pay them the arrears of tribute, to present them besides with golden vessels of five hundred pound weight, and to desire that the friendship and alliance, which they had had with his father, might be renewed with him, and that they would lay their commands upon him as upon a good and faithful confederate king; he would never be wanting in any duty. Thus he *came in peaceably;* and as he flattered the Syrians, the Syrians flattered him again, (5) and bestowed upon him the title of *Epiphanes* or *the illustrious:* but the epithet of *vile* or rather *despicable,* given him by the prophet, agrees better with his true character. For, as (6) Poly-

(1) Hieron. in locum. Col. 1127.

(2) Appian. ibid.

(3) Simulatione clementiæ obtinuit regnum Syriæ. ['With a shew of clemency he got possession of the kingdom of Syria.'] Hieron. ibid.

(4) Liv. Lib. 42. Cap. 6. Petere regem, ut quæ cum patre suo societas atque amicitia fuisset, ea secum renovaretur: imperaretque sibi populus Romanus, quæ bono fidelique socio regi essent imperanda; se nullo usquam cessaturum officio. ['The king requested, that they would renew with him the alliance and friendship, which had subsisted between them and his father; and that the Roman people might command him any thing that was consistent with a faithful ally and king, for that he never would be deficient in any duty.']

(5) Appian. de Bell. Syr. p. 117. Edit. Steph. p. 187. Edit. Tollii.

(6) Polyb. apud Athenæum. Lib. 5. p. 193. Lib. 10. p. 438. Edit. Casaubon. Diod. Sic. in Excerptis Valesii. p. 305, 306. Liv. Lib. 31. Cap. 24, 25.

bius and other heathen historians describe him, he would steal out of the palace, and ramble about the streets in disguise; would mix with the lowest company, and drink and revel with them to the greatest excess; would put on the Roman gown, and go about canvassing for votes, in imitation of the candidates for offices at Rome; would sometimes scatter money in the streets among his followers, and sometimes pelt them with stones; would wash in the public baths, and expose himself by all manner of ridiculous and indecent gestures; with a thousand such freaks and extravagances, as induced (7) Polybius who was a contemporary writer, and others after him, instead of *Epiphanes* or *the illustrious*, more rightly to call him *Epimanes* or *the madman*.

But frantic and extravagant as he was, he was however successful and victorious. *And with the arms of a flood shall they be overflown from before him;* or rather more agreeably to the (8) original, *And the arms of the overflower shall be overflown from before him, and shall be broken; yea, also the prince of the covenant: And after the league made with him he shall work deceitfully.* (ver. 22, 23.) The *arms* which were *overflown from before him*, were those of his competitors for the crown. Heliodorus (9) the murderer of Seleucus and his partizans, as well as those of the king of Egypt, who had formed some designs upon Syria, were vanquished by the forces of Eumenes and Attalus, and were dissipated by the arrival

(7) Πολυβιος δ' εν τη εκτη και εικοστη των ιστοριων καλει αυτον Επιμανη και ουκ Επιφανη, δια τας πραξεις. Polybius libro vigesimo sexto historiarum eum vocat επιμανη, non επιφανη, ob ea quæ ab illo gesta sunt. ['Polybius, in the twenty-sixth book of his history, calls him Επιμανη (*Epimanes,*) and not Επιφανη (*Epiphanes*) in consequence of his actions.'] Athenæus Lib. 10. p. 439. Vide etiam Lib. 2. p. 45. Lib. 5. p. 193.

(8) Και βραχιονες του καταικλυζοντος καταικλυσθησονται απο προσωπου αυτου. ['And the arms of the overflower shall be overflown from before his face.'] Sept.

Et brachia obruentis obruentur a conspectu ejus. ['And the arms of the overwhelmer shall be overwhelmed from before his face.'] Arab. Et brachia pugnantis expugnabuntur a facie ejus. ['And the arms of the fighter shall be subdued from before his face.] Vulg.

(9) Heliodore meurtrier de Seleucus, et ses partisans, aussi bien que ceux du roi d'Egypte, qui avoient quelques desseins sur la Syria, furent vaincus par les forces d'Attalus, et d'Eumenes; et dissipez par l'arrivee d'Antiochus, dont la présence deconcerta tous leurs desseins. [Translated in the text.] Calmet. Vide, si placet, Appian. Syriac. p. 116, 117. Grot. hic.

of Antiochus, whose presence disconcerted all their measures. *The prince also of the covenant was broken,* that is the high-priest of the Jews; and so (1) Theodoret understands and explains it. '*The prince of the covenant:* 'He speaketh of the pious high-priest, the brother of 'Jason, and foretelleth, that even he should be turned 'out of his office.' As soon as Antiochus was seated in the throne, (2) he removed Onias from the high priesthood, and preferred Jason the brother of Onias to that dignity, not for any crime committed against him by the former, but for the great sums of money which were offered to him by the latter. For Jason offered to give him no less than three hundred and sixty talents of silver for the high priesthood, besides eighty more upon another account: and good Onias was not only displaced to make way for a wicked usurper, but after a few years, living at Antioch, he was with as great treachery as cruelty murdered by the king's deputy. But though Antiochus had *made a league* with Jason the new high-priest, yet he did not faithfully adhere to it, but acted *deceitfully.* For Menelaus the brother of Jason (3) being sent to the Syrian court, with a commission from his brother, to pay the tribute, and to transact some business with the king; he by his address and flattery so far insinuated himself into the royal favor, that he attempted to supplant his elder brother Jason, as Jason had supplanted his elder brother Onias: and proffered to give three hundred talents more for the high priesthood than Jason had given for it. The king readily accepted the proposal, and issued his mandate for the deposing of Jason, and advancing of Menelaus in his room: but he could not effect the change without an armed force, which put Menelaus in possession of the place, and com-

(1) Και γε ηγουμενος διαθηκης, λεγει γαρ τον αρχιερεα τον ευσεβη, τον τω Ιασωνος αδελφον, και προδιδασκει, ὁτι κρεινον τω αρχιερατευειν παυσει. *Et aux faderis.* Principem sacerdotum intelligi vult pium Jasonis fratrem, præmonetque fore ut illum etiam abdicet pontificatu maximo. [Translated in the text.] Theod. in locum. p. 683. Tom. 2. Edit. Sirmondi.

(2) 2 Macc. iv. Joseph. de Maccabæis, Sect. 4. p. 1395. Edit. Hudson.

(3) 2 Macc. ibid. Sulpicii Severi Sacr. Hist. Lib. 2. p. 85. Edit. Elzevir. 1656.

pelled Jason to fly, and take shelter in the land of the Ammonites.

What follows is not assigning a reason for any thing that preceded, and therefore ought not to have been translated *For he shall come up*, but *And he shall come up, and shall become strong with a small people. He shall enter peaceably even upon the fattest places of the province*, or as it is in the margin, *He shall enter into the peaceable and fat places of the province, and he shall do that which his fathers have not done, nor his fathers fathers, he shall scatter among them the prey, and spoil, and riches: yea, and he shall forecast his devices against the strong holds, even for a time.* (ver. 23, 24.) Antiochus Epiphanes had been many years an hostage at Rome; and coming from thence with only a few attendants, he appeared in Syria little at first, but soon received a great increase, *and became strong with a small people.* By the (4) friendship of Eumenes and Attalus he *entered peaceably* upon the upper provinces; and appointed Timarchus and Heraclides, the one to be governor of Babylon, and the other to be his treasurer, two brothers, with both of whom he had unnatural commerce. He likewise *entered peaceably* upon the provinces of Cœle-Syria and Palestine. And wherever he came, he outdid *his fathers, and his fathers fathers* in liberality and profusion. He *scattered among them the prey, and spoil, and riches.* The (5) *prey* of his enemies, the *spoil* of temples, and the *riches* of his friends as well as his own revenues, were expended in public shows, and bestowed in largesses among the people. The writer of the first book of Maccabees affirms, that (6) in the liberal giving of gifts *he abounded above the kings that were before him.* Josephus testifies, that (7) he was magnanimous and munificent. Polybius recounts (8) various instances of his extravagance, and

(4) Appian. de Bell. Syr. p. 117. Edit. Steph. p. 187. Edit. Tollii.
(5) Polyb. apud Athenæum. Lib. 5. p. 195. Edit. Casaubon.
(6) 1 Macc. iii. 30.
(7) Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 7. Sect. 2. p. 537. Edit. Hudson. μεγαλοψυχος και φιλοδωρος. vir magni animi, et largitor. [Translated in the text.]
(8) Polyb. ibid. p. 194, &c. Lib. 10. p. 438, &c.

relates particularly, that (9) sometimes meeting accidentally with people whom he had never seen before, he would enrich them with unexpected presents; and (1) sometimes standing in the public streets, he would throw away his money and cry aloud, Let him take it to whom fortune shall give it. His generosity was the more requisite to fix the provinces of Cœle-Syria and Palestine in his interest, because they were claimed as of right belonging to the king of Egypt. Ptolemy Epiphanes was now dead; his queen Cleopatra was dead too; (2) and Eulæus an eunuch, and Lenæus, who were administrators of the kingdom for the young king Ptolemy Philometor, demanded the restitution of these provinces, alleging with very good reason, that they were assigned to the first Ptolemy in the last partition of the empire among Alexander's captains; that they had remained ever since in the possession of the kings of Egypt, till Antiochus the great took them away unjustly in the minority of Ptolemy Epiphanes the present king's father; and after he had taken them away, he agreed to surrender them again in dowry with his daughter Cleopatra. Antiochus denied these pleas and pretences with the direct contrary assertions; and foreseeing, as well he might foresee, that these demands would prove the ground and occasion of a new war between the two crowns, (3) he came to Joppa to take a view of the frontiers, and to put them in a proper posture of

(9) εξ απαλησεως δε τισι τυγχανων ὡς μη εωρακει πωποτε εδιδου δωρεας απροσδοκητους. aliquando fortè obvios, quos nunquam viderat, inspectatis muneribus afficeret. [Translated in the text.] P. 194.

(1) αλλοτε δε εν ταις δημοσιαις οδοις ιστάμενος λεγειν, τινι ἡ τυχη δ.δωσι λαβεσθω. και ριψας το αργυριον ωχετο. nonnunquam publica via stantem cum proclamasset, Sumat cui fortuna dederit, jactis sparsisque aureis nummis discessisse. [Translated in the text.] P. 438.

(2) Et quum post mortem Cleopatræ Eulaius eunuchus nutricius Philometoris, et Lenæus Ægyptum regerent, et repeterent Syriam quam Antiochus fraude occupaverat, ortum est inter avunculum et pueum Ptolemæum prælium. ['And when after the death of Cleopatra, Eulæus the the eunuch and tutor of Philometor, and Lenæus governed Egypt, and claimed the restitution of Syria, which Antiochus had unjustly seized, a battle took place between the young Ptolemy and his uncle.'] Hieron. in locum. Col. 1127. Polyb. Legat. 72. p. 892. Legat. 82. p. 908. Edit. Casaubon.

(3) 2 Macc. iv. 21, 22.

defence. In his progress he came to Jerusalem, where he was honourably received by Jason the high-priest, and by all the people; and as it was evening, he was ushered into the city with torch-light and with great rejoicings; and from thence he went into Phœnicia, to fortify his own *strong holds*, and to *forecast* his *devices* against those of the enemy. The (4) Seventy and the Arabic translator with a little variation in the reading render it, to *forecast his devices against Egypt.* Thus he did *even for a time,* and employed some years in his hostile preparations.

At length Antiochus, in the fifth year of his reign, (5) despising the youth of Ptolemy, and the inertness of his tutors, and believing the Romans to be too much employed in the Macedonian war to give him any interruption, resolved to carry hostilities into the enemy's country, instead of waiting for them in his own, and marched with a powerful army against Egypt. *And he shall stir up his power and his courage against the king of the south with a great army, and the king of the south shall be stirred up to battle with a very great and mighty army; but he shall not stand: for they shall forecast devices against him. Yea, they that feed of the portion of his meat, shall destroy him, and his army shall overflow,* or (6) rather *shall be overflown: and many shall fall down slain.* (ver. 25, 26.) These things (7) Porphyry rightly interprets of Antiochus, who marched against Ptolemy his sister's son with a great army. The king of the south too, that is the generals of Ptolemy were stirred up to war with very many and exceeding strong forces; and yet could not resist the fraudulent counsels of Antiochus.

(4) Και επ' Αιγυπτον λογισεται λογισμους. Et cogitabit adversus Ægyptum cogitationes. [Translated in the text.] Arab. Instead of מבצרים they read מצרים.

(5) Liv. Lib. 42. Cap. 29.

(6) Exercitus ejus inundabitur. ['His army shall be overflown.'] Pagn. Exercitusque ejus opprimetur. ['And his army shall be overthrown.'] Vulg. Exercitus ejus dissipabitur. ['His army shall be dispersed.'] Syr.

(7) Hæc Porphyrius interpretatur de Antiocho, qui adversus Ptolemæum sororis suæ filium profectus est cum exercitu magno. Sed et rex austri, id est, duces Ptolemæi provocati sunt ad bellum multis auxiliis, et fortibus nimis; et non potuerunt resistere Antiochi consiliis fraudulentis. [Translated in the text.] Hieron. in locum. Col. 1128.

The two armies engaged (8) between Pelusium and mount Casius, and Antiochus obtained the victory. The (9) next campaign he had greater success, routed the Egyptians, took Pelusium, ascended as far as Memphis, and made himself master of all Egypt except Alexandria. These transactions are thus related by the (1) writer of the first book of Maccabees: "Now when the kingdom "was established before Antiochus, he thought to reign "over Egypt, that he might have the dominion of two "realms. Wherefore he entered into Egypt with a great "multitude, with chariots, and elephants, and horsemen, "and a great navy; and made war against Ptolemy king "of Egypt: but Ptolemy was afraid of him, and fled; "and many were wounded to death. Thus they got the "strong cities in the land of Egypt, and he took the "spoils thereof." *He shall stir up his power against the king of the south with a great army,* says the prophet; *he entered into Egypt with a great multitude,* says the historian. *The king of the south shall not stand,* says the prophet; *Ptolemy was afraid and fled,* says the historian. *Many shall fall down slain,* says the prophet; *and many were wounded to death,* says the historian. The misfortunes of Ptolemy Philometor are by the prophet ascribed principally to the treachery and baseness of his own ministers and subjects: *for they shall forecast devices against him; Yea, they that feed of the portion of his meat shall destroy him.* And it is certain that Eulæus (2) was a very wicked minister, and bred up the young king in luxury and effeminacy contrary to his natural inclination. Ptolemy Macron too (3) who was governor of Cyprus, revolted from him, and delivered up that important iland to Antiochus; and for the reward of his

(8) Quumque inter Pelusium et montem Casium commisissent, victi sunt duces Ptolemæi. ['When they engaged between Pelusium and mount Casius, Ptolemy's generals were overcome.'] Hieron. Col. 1127, 1128.

(9) 2 Macc. v. 1. Hieron. ibid. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 12. C. 5. Sect. 2. p. 532. Edit. Hudson. Valesii Excerpta ex Diodoro. p. 311.

(1) 1 Macc. i. 16, 17, 18, 19.

(2) Valesii Excerpta ex Diodoro. p. 311, 313.

(3) Valesii Excerpta ex Polybio. p. 126. 2 Macc. x. 13. 1 Macc. iii. 38. 2 Macc. viii. 8.

treason was admitted into the number of the king's principal friends, and was made governor of Cœle-Syria and Palestine: Nay even (4) the Alexandrians, seeing the distress of Philometor, renounced their allegiance; and taking his younger brother Euergetes or Physcon, proclaimed him king instead of the elder brother.

History hath not informed us by what means Ptolemy Philometor came into the hands of Antiochus, whether he was taken prisoner, or surrendered himself of his own accord; but that he was in the hands of Antiochus, it is evident beyond all contradiction. *And both these kings hearts shall be to do mischief, and they shall speak lies at one table; but it shall not prosper: for yet the end shall be at the time appointed.* (ver. 27). After Antiochus was come to Memphis, and the greater part of Egypt had submitted to him, (5) he and Philometor did frequently eat and converse together *at one table:* but notwithstanding this appearance of peace and friendship, *their hearts* were really bent *to do mischief*, and they *spoke lies* the one to the other. For (6) Antiochus pretended to take care of his nephew Philometor's interest, and promised to restore him to the crown, at the same time that he was plotting his ruin, and was contriving means to weaken the two brothers in a war against each other, that the conqueror wearied and exhausted might fall an easier prey to him. On the other side (7) Philometor laid the blame of the war on his governor Eulæus, professed great obligations to his uncle, and seemed to hold the crown by his favor, at the same time that he was resolved to take the first opportunity of breaking the league with him, and of being reconciled to his brother: and accordingly, as soon as ever Antio-

(4) Porphyr. apud Eusebii Chron. Græc. p. 60 et 68.

(5) Nulli dubium est quin Antiochus pacem cum Ptolemæo fecerit, et inierit cum eo convivium, et dolos machinatus sit, &c. ['No one doubts but Antiochus concluded a peace with Ptolemy, feasted with him, and meditated mischief,' &c.] Hieron. ibid. Col. 1128.

(6) Polyb. Legat. 31. p. 909. Ed. Casaubon. Liv. Lib. 44. Cap. 19. Lib. 45. Cap. 11.

(7) Liv. ubi. Polyb. Legat. 82. p. 908. Porphyr. apud Eusebium ibid.

chus was withdrawn, he made proposals of accommodation, and by the mediation of their sister Cleopatra a peace was made between the two brothers, who agreed to reign jointly in Egypt and Alexandria. But still this artifice and dissimulation did *not prosper* on either side. For (8) neither did Antiochus obtain the kingdom, neither did Philometor utterly exclude him, and prevent his returning with an army, as each intended and expected by the measures which he had taken: for these wars were not to have an *end* till *the time appointed,* which was not yet come.

Antiochus hoping to become absolute master of Egypt, more easily by the civil war between the two brothers than by the exertion of his own forces, left the kingdom for a while, and returned into Syria. *Then shall he return into his land with great riches, and his heart shall be against the holy covenant; and he shall do exploits, and return to his own land.* (ver. 28.) He did indeed *return with great riches;* for the spoils which he took in Egypt were of immense value. The (9) writer of the first book of Maccabees says, "Thus they got the strong "cities in the land of Egypt, and he took the spoils "thereof. And after that Antiochus had smitten Egypt "he returned." Polybius (1) describing his opulence and the great show that he made of gold, silver, jewels, and the like, affirms that he took them partly out of Egypt, having broken the league with the young king Philometor. Returning too from Egypt, he set *his heart against the holy covenant.* For it happened while he was in Egypt, that (2) a false report was spread of his death,

(8) —— et nihil profecerit; quia regnum ejus non potuerit obtinere, &c. ['And it did not prosper; for he could not obtain his kingdom,' &c.] Hieron. ibid.

(9) 1 Mac. i. 19, 20.

(1) ταυτα δε παντα συντελεσθη, εξ ὡν τα μεν εκ της Αιγυπτȣ ενοσφισατο παρασπονδησας τον Φιλομητορα βασιλεα παιδισκον οντα. Omnia porro hæc sic absoluta et exculto sunt partim iis quibus in Ægypto, perfide violato fœderis pacto, regem Ptolemæum Philometora adhuc puerulum defraudaverat. ['All these were made partly from what he had taken away out of Egypt, when he violated the treaty with the young king Philometor.'] Polyb. apud Athenæum, Lib. 5. p. 195. Edit. Casaubon.

(2) 2 Macc. v. 5—23. 1 Macc. i. 20—28. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 5. Sect. 3. p. 532. Lib. 13. Cap. 8. Sect. 2. p. 582. De Bell. Jud. L. 1. Cap. 1.

Jason thinking this a favorable opportunity for him to recover the high priesthood, marched to Jerusalem with a thousand men, assaulted and took the city, drove Menelaus into the castle, and exercised great cruelties upon the citizens. Antiochus hearing of this, concluded that the whole nation had revolted; and being informed that the people had made great rejoicings at the report of his death, he determined to take a severe revenge, and went up with a great army as well as with great indignation against Jerusalem. He besieged and took the city by force of arms, slew forty thousand of the inhabitants, and sold as many more for slaves, polluted the temple and altar with swines flesh, profaned the holy of holies by breaking into it, took away the golden vessels and other sacred treasures to the value of eighteen hundred talents, restored Menelaus to his office and authority, and constituted one Philip, by nation a Phrygian, in manners a barbarian, governor of Judea. When he had *done* these *exploits*, he *returned to his own land.* So says (3) the writer of the first book of Maccabees. "When he had taken all away, he went into his own "land, having made a great massacre, and spoken very "proudly." So likewise (4) the author of the second book of Maccabees, "When Antiochus had carried out "of the temple a thousand and eight hundred talents, "he departed in all haste into Antiochia." Josephus too (5) to the same purpose, 'When he had gotten possession 'of Jerusalem, he slew many of the adverse party; and 'having taken great spoils, he returned to Antioch.' These things are not only recorded by Jews; for as (6)

Sect. 1. p. 958. De Maccab. Sect. 4. p. 1396. Polybius Megalopolitanus, Strabo Cappadox, Nicolaus Damascenus, Timagenes, Castor et Appollodorus apud Joseph. contra Apion. Lib. 2. p. 1369. Edit. Hudson. Diodorus Siculus. Ex Lib. 34. Ecloga prima. p. 901. Edit. Rhod. et apud Photii Biblioth. Cod. 244. p. 1149. Edit. Rothom. 1653.

(3) 1 Macc. i. 24.

(4) 2 Macc. v. 21.

(5) εγκρατης δ' ὁτος των Ιεροσολυμων γενομενος, πολλους απεκτεινεν των εναντια φρονουντων· και χρηματα πολλα συλησας υπεστρεψεν εις Αντιοχειαν. Ubi autem is in sua potestate habuit Hierosolyma, multos diversarum partium interfecit; magnaque pecuniæ vi direpta, Antiochiam rediit. [Translated in the text.] Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 5. Sect. 3. p. 532. Edit. Hudson.

(6) Et Græca et Romana narrat historia: postquam reversus est Anti-

Jerome observes, 'both the Greek and Roman history 'relates, that after Antiochus returned from Egypt, he 'came into Judea, that is, *against the holy covenant,* 'and spoiled the temple, and took away a great quantity 'of gold; and having placed a garrison of Macedonians 'in the citadel, he returned into his own land.'

After (7) two years Antiochus marched into Egypt again. *At the time appointed* (and hinted at before, ver. 27.) *he shall return and come toward the south, but it shall not be as the former, or as the latter;* or as it is translated in (8) the Vulgar Latin, *the latter shall not be like the former. For the ships of Chittim shall come against him: therefore he shall be grieved, and return, and have indignation against the holy covenant: so shall he do, he shall even return, and have intelligence with them that forsake the holy covenant.* (ver 29, 30.) Antiochus perceiving that his fine woven policy was all unraveled, and that the two brothers, instead of wasting and ruining each other in war, had provided for their mutual safety and interest by making peace (9) was so offended, that he prepared war much more eagerly and maliciously against both, than he had before against one of them. Early therefore in the spring he set forwards with his army, and passing through Cœle-Syria came into Egypt, and the inhabitants of Memphis and the other Egyptians, partly out of love, partly out of fear, submitting to him, he came by easy marches down to Alexandria. *But this* expedition was *not as* successful as his *former* ones; the reason of which is assigned in the next words, *the ships of*

ochus expulsus ab Ægyptiis venisse eum in Judæam, hoc est adversus Testamentum sanctum, et spoliasse templum, et auri tulisse quam plurimum: positoque in arce præsidio Macedonum, reversum in terram suam. [Translated in the text.] Hieron. in locum. Col. 1129.

(7) Et post biennium rursum contra Ptolemæum exercitum congregasse, et venisse ad austrum. ['And after two years he again assembled an army against Ptolemy, and came into the south.'] Hieron. ibid.

(8) Non erit priori simile novissimum. [Translated in the text.] Vulg.

(9) —adeo est offensus, ut multo acrius infestiusque adversus duos, quam ante adversus unum, pararet bellum:—ipse primo vere cum exercitu Ægyptum petens, in Cœlen-Syriam processit—[receptus ab iis qui] ad Memphim incolebant, et ab cæteris Ægyptiis, partim voluntate, partim metu, ad Alexandriam modicis itineribus descendit. [Translated in the text.] Liv. Lib. 45. Cap. 11, 12.

Chittim coming against him. In the fifth dissertation it was proved, that *the coast of Chittim* and *the land of Chittim* is a general name for Greece, Italy, and the countries and ilands in the Mediterranean. *The ships of Chittim* therefore are the ships which brought the Roman embassadors, who came from Italy, touched at Greece, and arrived in Egypt, being sent by the senate, at the supplication of the Ptolemies, to command a peace between the contending kings. The story was related out of the Greek and Roman historians in the last dissertation; it is needless therefore to repeat it here; it will be sufficient to add what (1) St. Jerome says upon the occasion. 'When the two brothers Ptolemies, the sons of 'Cleopatra, were besieged by their uncle in Alexandria, 'the Roman embassadors came: one of whom Marcus 'Popillius Lenas, when he had found him standing on 'the shore, and had delivered to him the decree of the 'senate, by which he was commanded to depart from the 'friends of the Roman people, and to be content with 'his own empire; and he would have deferred the matter to consult with his friends; Popillius is said to have 'made a circle in the sand with the stick that he held 'in his hand, and to have circumscribed the king, and 'to have said, The senate and people of Rome order, 'that in that place you answer what is your intention. With these words being frighted he said, If this 'pleases the senate and people of Rome, we must depart; and so presently drew off his army.' The reason of the Romans acting in this imperious manner, and of Antiochus so readily obeying, was, as (2) Polybius

(1) Quumque duo fratres Ptolemæi Cleopatræ filii, quorum avunculus erat, obsiderentur Alexandriæ, legatos venisse Romanos: quorum unus Marcus Popilius Lenas, quum eum stantem invenisset in littore, et senatus consultum dedisset, quo jubebatur ab amicis populi Romani recedere, et suo imperio esse contentus; et ille ad amicorum responsionem consilium distulisset; orbem dicitur fecisse in arenis baculo quem tenebat in manu, et circumscripsisse regem atque dixisse: Senatus et populus Romanus præcipiunt, ut in isto loco respondeas, quid consilii geras. Quibus dictis ille perterritus ait; Si hoc placet senatui et populo Romano, recedendum est; atque ita statim movit exercitum. [Translated in the text.] Hieron ibid.

(2) Μη γαρ γινομενη ταυτη και πιστευθεντος, ουκ αν μοι δοκει, πειθαρχησαι τοις ιταλιωτικοις Αντιοχον. Nam hoc nisi accidisset, neque de ea re consti-

suggests, the total conquest that Æmilius, the Roman consul, had just made of the kingdom of Macedonia. It was without doubt a great mortification to Antiochus, to be so humbled, and so disappointed of his expected prey. *Therefore he grieved, and returned.* He led back his forces, into Syria, as (3) Polybius says, grieved and groaning, but thinking it expedient to yield to the times for the present. *And had indignation against the holy covenant*: for (4) he vented all his anger upon the Jews: he detached Apollonius with an army of twenty-two thousand men, who coming to Jerusalem slew great multitudes plundered the city, set fire to it in several places, and pulled down the houses and walls round about it. Then they builded, on an eminence in the city of David, a strong fortress, which might command the temple; and issuing from thence, they fell on those who came to worship, and shed innocent blood on every side of the sanctuary, and defiled it: so that the temple was deserted, and the whole service omitted; the city was forsaken of its natives, and became an habitation of strangers. *So he did,* and after his *return* to Antioch (5) he published a decree, which obliged all persons upon pain of death to conform to the religion of the Greeks: and so the Jewish law was abrogated, the Heathen worship was set up in its stead, and the temple itself was consecrated to Jupiter Olympius. In the transacting and ordering of these matters he *had intelligence with them that forsook the holy covenant,* Menelaus and the other apostate Jews of his party, who were the king's chief instigators against their religion and their country. For (6) as the writer

tisset nunquam, opinor, esset adductus Antiochus, ut imperata faceret. ['Unless this had happened, and had been credited, it doth not appear to me that Antiochus would have obeyed these orders.'] Polyb. Legat. 92. p. 917. Edit. Casaubon.

(3) ὁτος μεν αωηγετο τας δυναμεις εις την Αγριαν [Συριαν ut putat Usserius] βαρυνομενος και γεμων· εικων δε τοις καιροις κατα το παρον. Antiochus copias Agriam [Syriam] suas, gravate ille quidem ac gemens, sed tamen abduxit, in presentia tempori cedendum ratus. ['He indeed led off his army into Agria, (into Syria as Usher thinks) grieved and groaning, but yielding to times for the present.'] Polyb. ibid. p. 916.

(4) 1 Macc. i. 29—40. 2 Macc. v. 24, 25, 26.

(5) 1 Macc. i. 41—64. 2 Macc. vi. 1—9.

(6) 1 Macc. i. 11, 13, 15.

of the first book of Maccabees says, "In those days "went there out of Israel wicked men, who persuaded "many, saying, Let us go, and make a covenant with the "Heathen, that are round about us: Then certain "of the people were so forward herein, that they went "to the king, who gave them licence to do after the or-"dinances of the Heathen: And they made themselves "uncircumcised, and forsook the holy covenant, and "joined themselves to the Heathen, and were sold to do "mischief." Josephus has plainly (7) ascribed the distress of his country to the factions among his countrymen, and to those persons particularly who fled to Antiochus, and besought him that under their conduct he would invade Judea.

It may be proper to stop here, and reflect a little how particular and circumstantial this prophecy is concerning the kingdoms of Egypt and Syria, from the death of Alexander to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. There is not so complete and regular a series of their kings, there is not so concise and comprehensive an account of their affairs, to be found in any author of those times. The prophecy is really more perfect than any history. No one historian hath related so many circumstances, and in such exact order of time, as the prophet hath foretold them: so that it was necessary to have recourse to several authors, Greek and Roman, Jewish and Christian; and to collect here something from one, and to collect there something from another, for the better explaining and illustrating the great variety of particulars contained in this prophecy. We have been particularly obliged to Porphyry and Jerome, who made use of the same authors for different purposes, and enjoyed the advantages of having those histories entire, which have since either in whole or in part been destroyed. For (8)

(7) Josephus de Bell. Jud. Lib. 1. Cap. 1. Sect. 1. p. 958. Edit. Hudson. οἱ δὲ καλαφυγοῦλες προς Ἀντιοχον ἱκετευσαν, αυτοις ἡγεμοσι χρωμενον, εις την Ἰουδαιαν ἐμβαλειν. illi vero ad Antiochum se receperunt, eique supplicarunt ut ipsis ducibus in Judæam irrumperet. ['But they betook themselves to Antiochus, and besought him that under their conduct he would invade Judæa.']

(8) Ad intelligendas autem extremas partes Danielis, multiplex Græcorum historia necessaria est; Suctorii videlicet, Callinici, Diodori, Hieronymi, Poly-

they had not only Polybius, Diodorus, Livy, Trogus Pompeius, and Justin, some parts of whose works are now remaining; but they had likewise Sutorius Callinicus, Hieronymus, Posidonius, Claudius Theon, and Andronicus Alipius, historians who wrote of those times, and whose works have since entirely perished. If these authors were still extant, and those who are extant were still complete, the great exactness of the prophecy might in all probability have been proved in more particulars than it hath been. This exactness was so convincing, that Porphyry could not pretend to deny it; he rather labored to confirm it, and drew this inference from it, that the prophecy was so very exact, that it could not possibly have been written before, but must have been written in, or soon after the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, all being true and exact to that time, and no farther. Others after him have asserted the same thing, not only without any proof, but contrary to all the proofs, which can be had in cases of this nature, as it hath been shown in a former dissertation. The prophecy indeed is wonderfully exact to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, but it is equally so beyond that time, as you will evidently perceive in the sequel, which cannot all with any propriety be applied to Antiochus, but extends to remoter ages, and reaches even to the general resurrection. No one could thus declare *the times and the seasons* (Acts i. 7.) but he who *hath them in his power*,

bii, Posidonii, Claudii Theonis, et Andronici cognomento Alipii, quos et Porphyrius esse se secutum dicit: Josephi quoque et eorum quos ponit Josephus, præcipueque nostri Livii, et Pompeii Trogi, atque Justini, qui omnem extremæ visionis narrant historiam. [' To understand the latter part of the book of Daniel, much of the Greek history is necessary, namely what has been written by Suetorius, Callinicus, Diodorus, Hieronymus, Polybius, Posidonius, Claudius Theon, and Andronicus sirnamed Alipius, all of whom Porphyry tells us he followed; as also Josephus and the authors mentioned by him, and especially our Livy, and Pompeius Trogus, and Justin, who all relate the history of this last vision.'] Hieron. Præf. in Dan. Col. 1074. Edit. Benedict. *Sutorii videlicet Callinici, Diodori, Hieronymi, Polybii, Posidonii, Claudii Theonis, et Andronici cognomento Alipii.* Ita eum locum emenda. In vulgatis est *Suetorius*, et ante *Callinicus* distinguitur, quasi a Sutorio sit diversus. [' That is Sutorius Callinicus, Diodorus, Polybius, Posidonius, Claudius Theon, and Andronicus sirnamed Alipius. Thus correct this passage. In the common editions it is *Suetorius*, and a stop is placed before *Callinicus*, as if he were a different person from Sutorius.'] Vossius de Hist. Græc. Lib. 2. Cap. 13.

XVII.

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED.

PART II.

THUS far the meaning and the completion of the prophecy is sufficiently clear and evident; there is more obscurity and difficulty in the part that remains to be considered. Thus far commentators are in the main agreed, and few or none have deviated much out of the common road: but hereafter they pursue so many different paths, that it is not always easy to know whom it is best and safest to follow. Some (1) as Porphyry among the ancients, and Grotius among the moderns, contend that the whole was litterally accomplished in Antiochus Epiphanes. Others, (2) as Jerome and most of the Christian fathers, consider Antiochus as a type of Antichrist; as in the seventy-second psalm Solomon is exhibited as a type of Christ, and many things are said of the one, which are only applicable to the other. Some again understand what remains, partly of the tyranny of Antiochus, and partly of the great apostasy of the latter

(1) Cætera quæ sequuntur usque ad finem voluminis, ille [' Porphyrius'] interpretatur super persona Antiochi qui cognominatus est Epiphanes; &c. [' The rest to the end of the book, he (Porphyry) understands with reference to Antiochus surnamed Epiphanes,' &c.] Hieron. Col. 1127.

(2) Nostri autem hæc omnia de Antichristo prophetari arbitrantur—Quumque multa quæ postea lecturi et exposituri sumus, super Antiochi persona non conveniant, typum eum volunt Antichristi habere—juxtâ illud quod de Domino Salvatore in septuagesimo primo [' secundo apud Hebr. et Sept.'] psalmo dicitur, qui prænotatur Salomonis: et omnia quæ de eo dicuntur, Salomoni non valent convenire, &c. [' All our writers are of opinion, that all these things are prophetically descriptive of Antichrist.—And since many of these things which we are about to read and expound, do not agree with the person of Antiochus, they think him in these to be typical of Antichrist;—just as what is said of our Lord and Saviour in the lxxi. Psalm, (or the lxxii. as it is reckoned in the Hebrew and Septuagint,) which is marked a Psalm for Solomon. For there all that is said of him cannot apply to Solomon, &c.'] Hieron. ibid.

days, or the days of the Roman empire. Others again apply it wholly to the invasion and tyranny of the Romans, the subsequent corruptions in the church, and alterations in the empire. There is no writer or commentator, whom we would choose to follow implicitly in all things; but in this we may agree with one, in that with another, and in some instances perhaps differ from all.

The prophet proceeds thus, (ver. 31.) *And arms shall stand on his part, and they shall pollute the sanctuary of strength,* (the temple so called by reason of its fortifications) *and shall take away the daily sacrifice, and they shall place the abomination that maketh desolate.* Porphyry and his adherents (3) would have those to be signified, who were sent by Antiochus two years after he had spoiled the temple, that they might exact tribute from the Jews, and take away the worship of God, and place in the temple of Jerusalem the image of Jupiter Olympius, and the statues of Antiochus, which are here called *the abomination of desolation.* And it is very true, (4) as the writer of the first book of Maccabees saith, that Apollonius and others commissioned by Antiochus did "pollute the sanctuary, and forbid burnt-offerings, and "sacrifice, and drink-offerings in the temple, and set "up the abomination of desolation upon the altar, and "builded idol-altars throughout the cities of Juda on "every side." Josephus likewise (5) affirms, that Antiochus forbad the Jews to offer the daily sacrifices,

(3) Volunt autem eos significari qui ab Antiocho missi sunt post biennium quam templum expoliaverat ut tributa exigerent a Judæis, et auferrent cultum Dei, et in templo Jerusalem, Jovis Olympii simulacrum, et Antiochi statuas ponerent; quas nunc *abominationem desolationis* vocat. [Translated in the text.] Hieron. in locum. Col. 1129.

(4) 1 Macc. i. 45, 46. 54.

(5) Και γαρ τας καθημερινας θυσιας, ας προσιφερον τω Θεω κατα τον νομον, εκωλυσεν αυθις προσφερειν. Nam et sacrificia quotidiana, quæ offerre solebant ex lege, offerre eos vetuit. ηναγκασε δ' αυθις αφιεναι της περι τον αυθων Θεον θρησκειας, της υπ' αυθη νομιζομενης σεβεσθαι· οικοδομησαντας δε εν εκαστη πολει και κωμη τεμενη αυθων και βωμους καθιδρυσαντας, θυειν επ' αυτοις συς καθ' ημεραν. Coegit etiam eos, Dei ipsorum cultu omisso, eos colere quos ipse Deos existimaret; et cum fana ipsorum oppidatim vicatimque extruxissent et aras collocassent, quotidie ibi immolare sues. [Translated in the text.] Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 5. Sect. 4. p. 533. Edit. Hudson.

which they offered to God according to the law: He compelled them also to leave off the service of their God, and to worship those whom he esteemed Gods; and to build temples and erect altars to them in every city and village, and to sacrifice swine upon them every day. This interpretation therefore might very well be admitted, if the other parts were equally applicable to Antiochus; but the difficulty, or rather impossibility of applying them to Antiochus, or any of the Syrian kings his successors, obliges us to look out for another interpretation. Jerome and the Christians of his time (6) contend, that all these things were a type of Antichrist, who is about to sit in the temple of God, and to make himself as God: but the fathers had very confused and imperfect notions of Antichrist, the prophecies relating to him having not then received their completion. All things duly considered, no interpretation of this passage appears so rational and convincing, as that proposed by Sir (7) Isaac Newton. "In the same year that Antiochus by the command of the Romans retired out of Egypt, and set up the worship of the Greeks in Judea; the Romans conquered the kingdom of Macedon, the fundamental kingdom of the empire of the Greeks, and reduced it into a Roman province; and thereby began to put an end to the reign of Daniel's third beast. This is thus expressed by Daniel. *And after him arms*, that is the Romans, *shall stand up*. As ממלך signifies (8) *after the king*, Dan. xi. 3: so ממנו may signify *after him*. *Arms* are every where in this prophecy of Daniel put for the military power of a kingdom: and they stand up when they conquer and grow powerful. Hither Daniel described the actions

(6) Quæ universa in typo Antichristi, nostri præcessisse contendunt; qui sessurus est in templo Dei, et se facturus ut Deum. ['All which things our writers contend, went before as typical of Antichrist, who is to sit in the temple of God, and to make himself as God.'] Hieron. ibid.

(7) Sir Isaac Newton's Observations on Daniel, Chap. 12. p. 188, &c. See also Chap. 9. p. 125, &c.

(8) So מן־דעת ההיא Nehem XII. 21. is *after that time* or *from that time forth*. So likewise in this very chap. ver. 23. מן־התהברות אליו is translated *after the league with him*. See the particle מן in Noldius and Taylor's Concordance.

" of the kings of the *north* and *south*; but upon the con-
" quest of Macedon by the Romans, he left off describing
" the actions of the Greeks, and began to describe
" those of the Romans in Greece. They conquered
" Macedon, Illyricum, and Epirus, in the year of Nabo-
" nassar 580; 35 years after, by the last will and testa-
" ment of Attalus the last king of Pergamus, they in-
" herited that rich and flourishing kingdom, that is, all
" Asia westward of mount Taurus; 69 years after they
" conquered the kingdom of Syria, and reduced it into
" a province, and 34 years after they did the like to
" Egypt. By all these steps the Roman arms stood up
" over the Greeks; and after 95 years more, by making
" war upon the Jews, *they polluted the sanctuary of*
" *strength, and took away the daily sacrifice, and then*
" *placed the abomination of desolation.* For this abomi-
" nation was placed after the days of Christ, Matt. xxiv.
" 15, in the 16th year of the emperor Adrian, A.C. 132,
" they placed this abomination by building a temple to
" Jupiter Capitolinus where the temple of God in Jeru-
" salem had stood. Thereupon the Jews under the
" conduct of Barchochab rose up in arms against the
" Romans, and in the war had fifty cities demolished,
" nine hundred and eighty-five of their best towns de-
" stroyed, and five hundred and eighty thousand men
" slain by the sword; and in the end of the war, A.C.
" 136, were banished Judea upon pain of death, and
" thenceforward the land remained desolate of its old in-
" habitants." In support of this interpretation it may be farther added, that the Jews themselves, as (9) Jerome informs us, 'understood this passage neither of 'Antiochus Epiphanes, nor of Antichrist, but of the 'Romans, of whom it was said above that *the ships of* 'Chittim shall come, and he shall be grieved. After some

(9) Judæi autem hoc nec de Antiocho Epiphane, nec de Antichristo, sed de Romanis intelligi volunt, de quibus supra dictum est, *Et venient trieres*, sive Itali atque Romani, *et humiliabitur*. Post multa, inquit, tempora de ipsis Romanis, qui Ptolemæo venere auxilio, et Antiocho comminati, sunt, consurget rex Vespasianus, surgent brachia ejus et semina, Titus filius cum exercitu; et polluent sanctuarium, auferentque jugem sacrificium, et templum tradent æternæ solitudini. [Translated in the text.] Hieron. ibid.

'time, says the prophet, out of the Romans themselves 'who came to assist Ptolemy, and menaced Antiochus, 'there shall arise the emperor Vespasian, there shall 'arise his arms and seed, his son Titus with an army; 'and they shall pollute the sanctuary, and take away the 'daily sacrifice, and deliver the temple to eternal desola-'tion.' Mr. Mede too assigns (1) the same reason for the prophet's passing from Antiochus Epiphanes to the Romans. "We must know, says he, that after the "death of Antiochus Epiphanes the third kingdom "comes no more in the holy reckoning, none of the "Greek kings after him being at all prophesied of; yea "Daniel himself calling the time of Antiochus his reign "*the latter end of the Greek kingdom.* (viii. 23.) The "reason of this is, because during the reign of Antio-"chus, Macedonia (whence that kingdom sprung) with "all the rest of Greece, came under the Roman obe-"dience. From thence therefore the Holy Ghost be-"gins the rise of the fourth kingdom, yea the Roman "historians themselves mark out that time for the rise of "their empire." And for this purpose he alleges two quotations from Lucius Florus and Velleius Paterculus. Our Saviour himself making use of this same phrase *the abomination of desolation* in his prediction of the destruc-

(1) Mede's Works, B. 4. Epist. 41. p. 797. See too B. 3. p. 667, 672. Lucius Florus, Lib. 2. Cap. 7. Cedente Hannibale, præmium victoriæ Africa fuit, et secutus Africam terrarum orbis. Post Carthaginem vinci neminem puduit; secutæ sunt statim Africam gentes, Macedonia, Græcia, Syria, cæteraque, omnia, quodam quasi æstu et torrente fortunæ: sed primi omnium Macedones, affectator quondam imperii populus. ['Hannibal being worsted, Africa became the reward of the victory, and after Africa the whole world also. None thought it a shame to be overcome, after Carthage was. Macedonia, Greece, Syria, and all other nations, as if carried with a certain current and torrent of fortune, did soon follow Africa: But the first who followed were the Macedonians, a people that sometime affected the empire of the world.'] In Velleius Paterculus. Lib. 1. Cap. 6. is an annotation out of one Æmilius Sura in these words; Assyrii principes omnium gentium rerum potiti sunt, deinde Medi, postea Persæ, deinde Macedonis; exinde duobus regibus, Philippo et Antiocho, quia Macedonibus oriundi erant, haud multo post Carthaginem subactam, devictis, summa imperii ad populum Romanum pervenit. ['The Assyrians had the sovereign dominion the first of all nations, then the Medes and Persians; after them the Macedonians: afterwards those two kings, Philip and Antiochus, being overcome, and that a little after that Carthage was subdued, the imperial power came to the Romans.']

tion of Jerusalem, may convince us that this part of the prophecy refers to that event.

What follows can be but in part applied to the times of Antiochus Epiphanes. *And such as do wickedly against the covenant, shall he corrupt by flatteries: but the people that do know their God, shall be strong, and do exploits. And they that understand among the people, shall instruct many; yet they shall fall by the sword, and by flame, by captivity, and by spoil many days.* (ver. 32, 33.) If it may be said of Antiochus, that he *corrupted* many *by flatteries*, by rewards and promises, to forsake the holy covenant, and to conform to the religion of the Greeks; *but the people who knew their God*, the Maccabees and their associates, *were strong and did exploits:* Yet it cannot so properly be said of the Maccabees, or any of the devout Jews of their time, that they did *instruct many*, and make many proselytes to their religion; neither did the persecution, which Antiochus raised against the Jews, continue *many days*, or years according to the prophetic stile, for it lasted only a few years. All these things are much more truly applicable to the Christian Jews: for now the daily sacrifice was taken away, the temple was given to desolation, and the Christian church had succeeded in the place of the Jewish, the new covenant in the room of the old. *And such as do wickedly against the covenant, shall he corrupt by flatteries; He*, that is the power before described, who *took away the daily sacrifice, and placed the abomination of desolation:* nor is such a change of number unfrequent in the Hebrew language. 'There are some, saith an (2) old commentator, 'who think that the prophet here had respect to the 'Christians, whom the wicked idolaters endevored from 'the beginning of the rising church to seduce by flat-'teries; but the persecution of tyrants raged chiefly 'against the apostles and holy teachers.' The Roman magistrates and officers, it is very well known, made use

(2) Sunt qui putent hic prophetam aspicere ad Christianos, quos impii idolatræ conati fuerunt ab initio nascentis ecclesiæ seducere blanditiis. Potissimè autem sæviit tyrannorum persecutio in apostolos et sanctos doctores. [Translated in the text.] Clarius in locum.

of the most alluring promises, as well as of the most terrible threatnings, to prevail upon the primitive Christians to renounce their religion, and offer incense to the statues of the emperors and images of the gods. Many were induced to comply with the temptation, and apostatized from the faith, as we learn particularly from the famous (3) epistle of Pliny to Trajan: but the true Christians, *the people who knew their God were strong*, remained firm to their religion, and gave the most illustrious proofs of the most heroic patience and fortitude. It may too with the strictest truth and propriety be said of the primitive Christians, that being dispersed every where, and preaching the gospel in all the parts of the Roman empire, they *instructed many*, and gained a great number of proselytes to their religion; *yet they fell by the sword, and by flame, by captivity, and by spoil many days;* for they were exposed to the malice and fury of ten general persecutions, and suffered all manner of injuries, afflictions, and tortures with little intermission for the space of three hundred years.

After these violent persecutions the church obtained some rest and relaxation. *Now when they shall fall, they shall be holpen with a little help; but many shall cleave to them with flatteries. And some of them of understanding shall fall, to try them, and to purge, and to make them white, even to the time of the end; because it is yet for a time appointed,* (ver. 34, 35.) Here Porphyry hath many followers, besides Grotius: and he (4) supposeth that by *the little help* was meant Mattathias of Modin, who rebelled against the generals of Antiochus, and endevored to preserve the worship of the true God. It is called *a little help*, saith he, because Mattathias was slain in battle; and afterwards his son Judas, who was called Maccabeus, fell in fight; and his other brethren were

(3) Plinii Epist. Lib. 10. Ep. 97.

(4) Parvulum auxilium, Mattathiam significari arbitratur Porphyrius de vico Modin; qui adversùm duces Antiochi rebellavit, et cultum veri Dei servare conatus est. Parvum autem, inquit, auxilium vocat, quia occisus est in prælio Mattathias; et postea Judas filius ejus, qui vocabatur Maccabæus, pugnans cecidit; et cæteri fratres ejus adversariorum fraude decepti sunt. [Translated in the text.] Hieron. Col. 1130.

deceived by the fraud of their adversaries. But this is not an exact or just representation of the case. Mattathias (5) was not slain in battle, but died of old age. His son Judas Maccabæus several times vanquished the generals of Antiochus, recovered the holy city, cleansed the sanctuary, restored the public worship of God, and not only survived Antiochus some years, but also received the good news of the dethroning and murdering of his son. His brother Jonathan was made high-priest, and his brother Simon sovran prince of the Jews; and both these dignities, the high-priesthood and the sovranty, descended to Simon's son, and continued united in the family for several generations. That therefore could not be deemed a *little help*, which prevailed and triumphed over all the power and malice of the enemy, and established the Jewish religion and government upon a firmer basis than before; so far were they from falling again into a state of persecution, as the next verse intimates that they should. It may be concluded then, that Porphyry was mistaken in the sense of this passage. The Jewish doctors seem to have come nearer the mark: for some of them, as (6) Jerome affirms, understood these things of the emperor Severus and Antoninus, who much loved the Jews; and others, of the emperor Julian, who pretended to love the Jews; and promised to sacrifice in their temple. But the most natural way of interpretation is to follow the course and series of events. The church had now labored under long and severe persecutions from the civil power. They *had fallen by the sword, and by flame, by captivity, and by spoil many days.* The tenth and last general persecution was begun (7) by

(5) For these particulars the two books of Maccabees, Josephus, Usher, Prideaux, &c. must be consulted.

(6) Hebræorum quidem hæc de Severo et Antonino principibus intelligunt, qui Judæos plurimum dilexerunt. Alii vero de Juliano imperatore:—Judæos amare se simulans, et in templo eorum immolaturum se esse promittens. [Translated in the text.] Hieron. ibid.

(7) Eusebii Eccles. Hist. Lib. 8. Cap. 2 et 15, &c. Lactant. de Mort. Persecut. Cap. 12 et 48. Sic ab eversa ecclesia usque ad restitutam fuerunt anni decem, &c. ['Thus from the overthrow of the church to its restoration were ten years,' &c.]

Diocletian: it raged, though not at all times equally, ten years; and was suppressed entirely by Constantine, the first Roman emperor, as it is universally known, who made open profession of Christianity; and then the church was no longer persecuted, but was protected and favored by the civil power. But still this is called only *a little help*; because though it added much to the temporal prosperity, yet it contributed little to the spiritual graces and virtues of Christians. It inlarged their revenues, and increased their endowments; but proved the fatal means of corrupting the doctrin, and relaxing the disciplin of the church. It was attended with this peculiar disadvantage, that *many clave to them with flatteries.* Many became Christians for the sake of the loaves and the fishes, and pretended to be of the religion, only because it was the religion of the emperor. Eusebius, who was a contemporary writer (8), reckons that one of the reigning vices of the time was the dissimulation and hypocrisy of men fraudulently entring into the church, and borrowing the name of Christians without the reality. Julian himself, as a (9) heathen historian relates, that he might allure the Christians to favor him, publicly professed the faith, from which he had long ago privately revolted; and even went to church, and joined with them in the most solemn offices of religion. He did more; his dissimulation carried him so far as to (1) become an ecclesiastic in lower orders, or

(8) —— ειρωνειαν τ' αλεκτον των την εκκλησιαν ὑποδυομενων, και το χριστιανων επιπλαστως ζχημαλιζομενων ονομα.—et fraudulentam simulationem eorum qui callide in ecclesiam irrepebant, et Christianorum nomen falso ac specie tenus præferebant. ['And the inexpressible dissimulation of them who crept into the church, and hypocritically assumed the name of Christians.'] Euseb. de vita Const. Lib. 4. Cap. 54.

(9) Utque omnes nullo impediente, ad sui favorem illiceret, adhærere cultui Christiano fingebat, a quo jampridem occultè desciverat—Et—progressus in eorum ecclesiam, solemniter numine orato discessit. [Translated in the text.] Ammian. Marcell. Lib. 21. Cap. 2. p. 266. Edit. Valesii. Paris, 1681.

(1) Theodoret Eccles. Hist. Lib. 3. Cap. 1.——και τω των αναγνωστων ηξιωθη χορω, και τας ἱερας βιβλους εν τοις εκκλησιαστικοις ζυλλογοις ὑπανεγνωσκε τω λαω. in lectorum numerum adscriptus est, et sacros libros in ecclesiasticis conventibus populo recitavit. ['And he was thought worthy to be admitted into the band of readers, and in ecclesiastical assemblies he read over the sacred books to the people.']

a *reader* in the church. Moreover, this is also called *a little help*, because the temporal peace and prosperity of the church lasted but a little while. The spirit of persecution presently revived; and no sooner were the Christians delivered from the fury of their heathen adversaries, than they began to quarrel among themselves, and to persecute one another. The (2) Consubstantialists, even in the time of Constantine, led the way by excommunicating and banishing the Arians. The latter, under the favor of Constantius and Valens more than retorted the injury, and were guilty of many horrible outrages and cruelties towards the former. Such more or less have been the fate and condition of the church ever since: and generally speaking, *those of understanding have fallen* a sacrifice to others, some of the best and wisest men to some of the worst and most ignorant. At least, if the persecuted have not been always in the right, yet the persecutors have been always in the wrong. These calamities were to befall the Christians, *to try them; and to purge, and to make them white,* not only at that time, but *even to the time of the end, because it is yet for a time appointed:* And we see even at this day, not to allege other instances, how the poor protestants are persecuted, plundered and murdered, in the southern parts of France.

The principal source of these persecutions is traced out in the following verses. *And the king* (who shall cause these persecutions) *shall do according to his will, and he shall exalt himself, and magnify himself above every god, and shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods, and shall prosper till the indignation be accomplished; for that that is determined, shall be done.* (ver. 36.) From this place, as (3) Jerome asserts, the Jews as well as the Christians of his time understood all to be

(2) See Socrates, Sozomen, &c. and Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, Vol. 3. p. 104, 105.

(3) Ab hoc loco Judæi dici de Antichristo putant—Quod quidem et nos de Antichristo intelligimus. Porphyrius autem et cæteri qui sequuntur eum, de Antiocho Epiphane dici arbitrantur, quod erectus sit contra cultum Dei, et in tantam superbiam venerit, ut in templo Jerosolymis simulacrum suum poni jusserit. [Translated in the text.] Hieron. Col. 1131.

spoken of Antichrist. But Porphyry and others who follow him, suppose it to be spoken of Antiochus Epiphanes, that he should be exalted against the worship of God, and grow to that highth of pride, that he should command his statue to be placed in the temple of Jerusalem. But if it might be said of Antiochus, that he *spoke marvellous things against the God of Israel;* yet it could not be so well affirmed of him, that he *magnified and exalted himself above every God;* when (4) in his public sacrifices and worship of the gods he was more sumptuous and magnificent than all who reigned before him; and when in his solemn shows and processions were carried the images of all who among men were called or reputed gods, or dæmons, and even heroes; as Athenæus reports out of Polybius. He was certainly very superstitious, tho' sometimee his extravagancies and necessities might induce him to commit sacrilege. It is a strong argument in favour of the Jewish and Christian interpretation, that St. Paul appears to have understood this passage much in the same manner, because he applies the same expressions (2 Thess. ii. 3, 4.) to *the man of sin, the son of perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God.* The thred of the prophecy will also conduct us to the same conclusion. For the prophet was speaking of the persecutions, which should be permitted for the trial and probation of the church, after the empire was become christian: and now he proceeds to describe the principal author of these persecutions. *A king* or *kingdom,* as we have shewn before, and it appears in several

(4) εν δε ταις προς τας πολεις θυσιαις, και ταις προς τους θεους τιμαις, παντας υπερεβαλλε τους βασιλευσαντας, omnes quotquot regnarunt, sacrorum magnificentia, quæ illius sumptu in claris urbibus fiebant, cultuque ac veneratione deorum exuperasse. [' In his public sacrifices, and in his acts of worship performed in honour of the gods, he surpassed all that had reigned before him.'] παντων γαρ των παρ' ανθρωποις λεγομενων η νομιζομενων θεων η δαιμονων περσεται δε ηρωων, ειδωλα διηγειτο. omnium enim quotquot apud homines vel creduntur vel dicuntur esse dii, aut dæmones, atque adeo heroum simulacra gestabantur. [' For he used to carry about images of all who were called or reputed by men as gods, or demons, or even heroes.'] Polyb. apud Athen. Lib. 5. p. 194, 195. Edit. Causabon.

instances, signifies any government, state or potentate: and the meaning of this verse we conceive to be, that after the empire was become christian, there should spring up the church an antichristian power, that should act in the most absolute and arbitrary manner, exalt itself above all laws divine and human, dispense with the most solemn and sacred obligations, and in many respects injoin what God had forbidden, and forbid what God had commanded. This power began in the Roman emperors, who summoned councils, and directed and influenced their determinations almost as they pleased. After the division of the empire, this power still increased, and was exerted principally by the Greek emperors in the east, and by the bishops of Rome in the west; as we shall see in the several particulars hereafter specified by the prophet. This power too was to continue in the church, and *prosper till the indignation be accomplished: for that that is determined, shall be done.* This must denote some particular period; or otherwise it is no more than saying, that God's indignation shall not be accomplished till it be accomplished. This is the same as what before was called, (viii. 19.) *the last end of the indignation*, and (ix. 27.) *the consummation:* and it meaneth the last end and consummation of God's indignation against his people the Jews. This seemeth to be expressed plainer in the following chapter, (ver. 7.) *And when he shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people, all these things shall be finished.* So long this antichristian power should continue. We see it still subsisting in the church of Rome: and it was an ancient tradition among the Jewish doctors, that the destruction of Rome and the restoration of the Jews should fall out about the same period. It is a saying of the famous rabbi David Kimchi in his comment upon Obadiah, (5) when Rome shall be laid waste, there shall be redemption for Israel. The curious reader may see

(5) Cum devastabitur Roma, erit Israeli redemptio. [Translated in the text.] See Mede's Works, B. 5. Cap. 7. Placita doctorum Hebræorum de Babylonis seu Romæ excidio. ['The decisions of the Jewish Rabbies concerning the destruction of Babylon or Rome.'] p. 902.

more authorities cited by Mr. Mede in a small Latin tractate upon this subject.

r In this prophecy the antichristian power is described as exerted principally in the eastern empire, it was before described as exerted in the western empire, under the figure *of the little horn* of the fourth beast. *Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers, nor the desire of women, nor regard any God; for he shall magnify himself above all.* (ver. 37.) That he should *not regard the God of his fathers,* could not be truly affirmed of Antiochus, (6) who compelled all, and especially the Jews and Samaritans, to conform their worship to the religion of the Greeks: and what were the idols that he set up among them, but the Grecian deities, as Jupiter Olympius in the temple of Jerusalem, and Jupiter Xenius, or the defender of strangers, in the temple of the Samaritans? This, therefore, as Jerome rightly observes, agrees better with Antichrist than with Antiochus. *By not regarding the God of his fathers,* Mr. Mede (7) understands the Roman state's cashiering and casting off the pagan deities and heathen gods which were worshipped in their empire. But the conversion of the Roman state was hinted before, (ver. 34.) and other events have been pointed out since; so that it would be breaking in upon the series and order of the prophecy, to resume that subject again. The character too here given, doth not seem in any part of it, to be designed by way of commendation. It is not mentioned to the honor, but to the reproach of the power here described, that he should forsake the religion of his ancestors, and in a manner set up a new religion. It was not the prophet's intention to praise him for renouncing the idolatry of his heathen fathers, but to blame him for apostatizing in

(6) 1 Macc. i. 41—64. 2 Macc. vi. 1. &c. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 5. Sect. 4. p. 533. Edit. Hudson. Hoc magis Antichristo quam Antiocho convenit. Legimus enim Antiochum idolorum Græciæ habuisse cultum, et Judæos atque Samaritas ad venerationem suorum deorum compulisse. ['This agrees better with Antichrist than with Antiochus. For we read that Antiochus worshipped the idols of Greece, and forced the Jews and Samaritans to adore his own gods.'] Hieron. ibid.

(7) Mede's Works, B. 3. p. 668.

some measure from the religion of his christian fathers; as he did actually both in the Greek and Latin church, by worshipping *Mahuzzim* instead of the true God blessed for ever. Another property of the power here described is, that he should *not regard the desire of women:* And neither could this with any truth be declared of Antiochus, who besides having a wife, (8) was lewd and vicious to such a degree, that he had no regard to common decency, but would prostitute his royal dignity, and gratify and indulge his lusts publicly in the presence of the people. He had a favourite concubine, whom he called after his own name Antiochis. To her he assigned two cities in Cilicia, Tarsus and Mallus for her maintenance; and the inhabitants, rather than they would submit to such an indignity rebelled against him. As Jerome says, (9) the interpretation is easier of Antichrist, that he should therefore counterfeit chastity, that he might deceive many. In the Vulgar Latin it is indeed (1) *And he shall regard the desire of women:* but this reading is plainly contrary to the original, and to most other versions; unless with Grotius we understand the copulative *and*, when it follows a negative, as becoming a negative too, and signifying *neither*. Grotius explains it of Antiochus, (2) that he should not spare even women: but the words in the original will not by any fair construction admit of this interpretation. The

(8) — luxuriosissimus fuisse dicitur et in tantum dedecus per stupra et corruptelas venisse regiæ dignitatis; ut mimis quoque et scortis publice jungeretur, et libidinem suam populo præsente compleret. ['He is said to have been very lewd, and to have brought the royal dignity into such disgrace by his whoredoms and wickedness, that he would gratify his lust in the presence of the people, by connecting himself with actresses and prostitutes.'] Hieron. ibid. Vide etiam Theodoret. in locum. p. 689. 2 Macc. iv. 30.

(9) de Antichristo facilior interpretatio est; quod ideo simulet castitatem, ut plurimos decipiat. [Translated in the text.] Hieron. ibid.

(1) Et erit in concupiscentiis fœminarum. [Translated in the text.] Vulg.

(2) Apud Hebræos ל negativam sequens negat, et valet *nec*, ut sensus sit, *neque desiderium mulierum*, id est, neque fœminas quanquam amabiles, curabit quicquam, nulla sexus illius tangetur misericordia. ['In Hebrew ל, coming after a negative has a negative signification, and signifies *nor*, so that the meaning is, "nor the desire of women," that is he will have no regard for women however lovely, he will not be touched with any pity for that sex.'] Grot. in locum.

word in the original for *women* (3) signifieth properly *wives*, as *desire* doth *conjugal affection*. The meaning therefore of *not regarding the desire of woman*, is neglecting and discouraging marriage; as both the Greeks and Latins did to the great detriment of human society, and to the great discredit of the christian religion. The Julian and Papian laws which were enacted in the most florishing times of the Romans for the favor and encouragement of those who were married, and had children, (4) Constantine himself repealed, and allowed equal or greater privileges and immunities to those who were unmarried and had no children. Nay he (5) held in the highest veneration those men who had devoted themselves to the divine philosophy, that is to a monastic life; and almost adored the most holy company of perpetual virgins, being convinced that the God, to whom they had consecrated themselves, did dwell in their minds. His example was followed by his successors: and the married clergy were discountenanced and depressed; the monks were honored and advanced; and in the fourth century like a torrent overran the eastern church, and soon after the western too. This was *evidently not regarding the desire of wives*, or conjugal af-

(3) See Mede's Works, B. 3. p. 668. And it might have been translated in this place *desire of wives*, as well as *desire of women*; for there is no other word used in the original for *wives* above once or twice in the whole scripture, but this נשים which is here termed *women*, With the like use of the word *desire*, the spouse in the Canticles vii. 10. expresseth her well beloved to be her husband; *I am my beloved's and his desire is towards me*: that is, he is my husband; for so twice before she expressed herself, ii. 16. *My beloved is mine, and I am his*; and vi. 3. *I am my beloved's, and my beloved is mine*. So Ezek. xxiv. 16. the Lord threatening to take away Ezekiel's wife saith, *Behold, I take away from thee the desire of thine eyes* מחמד עיניך, and afterwards ver. 18. it followeth, *And at even my wife died*. Yea, the Roman language itself is not unacquainted with this speech. Cicero ad uxorem, *En mea lux, meum desiderium*.

(4) Euseb. de Vit. Constantini, Lib. 4. Cap. 26. Sozomen, Lib. 1. Cap. 9. Jortin's Remarks on Eccles. Hist. Vol. 3. p. 231.

(5) διαφεροντως δ' ηξιουτο τιμης πλειονος, τους τον σφων βιον τη κατα Θεον αναθεντας φιλοσοφια· τον ουν παναγιον των αιει παρθενων του Θεου χορον μονονουχι και σεβων διετελει, ταις των τοιωνδε ψυχαις ενοικον αυτον υπαρχειν ῳ καθιερωσαν εαυτας Θεον πειθομενος. Præ cæteris vero eos maxime honorabat, qui se totos divinæ philosophiæ addixissent. Ipsum quidem sanctissimum perpetuarum Dei virginum cætum tantum non venerabatur, cum ipsum cui se consecraverant Deum, in earum mentibus habitare, pro certo haberet. [Translated in the text.] Euseb. ibid. Cap. 28.

fection. At first only second marriages were prohibited, but in time the clergy were absolutely restrained from marrying at all. So much did the power here described *magnify himself above all*, even God himself, by contradicting the primary law of God and nature; and making that dishonorable, which the scripture (Heb. xiii. 4.) hath pronounced *honorable in all.*

More proofs are alleged in the next verse, of his apostatizing from the true religion of his ancestors. *But in his estate shall he honor the God of forces,* or Mahuzzim; *and a God whom his fathers knew not, shall he honor with gold and silver, and with precious stones and pleasant things.* (ver. 38.) How can this with any propriety or, with any degree of sense, be applied to Antiochus? The God Mahuzzim, as (6) Jerome remarks, Porphyry hath ridiculously interpreted the God of Modin, the town from whence came Mattathias and his sons, and where the generals of Antiochus compelled the Jews to sacrifice to Jupiter, that is, to the God of Modin. *The God whom his father knew not,* Grotius also (7) says, was Baal Semen, who was the same as Jupiter Olympius: but if so, how was he unknown to the Macedonians? It is necessary therefore to conclude with Jerome that (8) this likewise agrees better with Antichrist than with Antiochus. The word *Mahuzzim* is taken personally, and is retained (9) in several translations. It is derived from (1) a radical verb signifying *he was strong;* and the proper meaning of it is *munitions, bulwarks, for-*

(6) Deum *Maozim* ridicule Porphyrius interpretatus est, ut diceret in vico Modin, unde fuit Mattathias et filii ejus, Antiochi duces Jovis posuisse statuam, et compulisse Judæos, ut ei victimas immolarent, id est, Deo Modin. [Translated in the text.] Hieron. ibid.

(7) Is Deus est summus Phœnicum Deus *Baal Semen* quem Græci appellant *Jovem Olympium*, quasi translato nomine. ['This God is Baal-Semen, the supreme god of the Phœnicians, whom the Greeks call Olympian Jove, and is a translation of the name into their language.'] Grot. in locum.

(8) Hoc magis Antichristo quam Antiocho convenit. [Translated in the text.] Hieron. ibid.

(9) Και δοξον Μαωζειμ επι τοπου αυτου δοξασει. ['And he shall glorify the god Maozim in his place.'] Sept. Deum autem Maozim in loco suo venerabitur. ['And he shall worship Maozim in his place.'] Vulg. Lat.

(1) מעוז Robur, Item, Arx. Munitio, a עזז Roboravit, Roboravit se, Roboratus fuit, ['מעוז strength, also, a fortress, a munition, from עזז he strengthened, he strengthened himself, he was strengthened.'] Buxtorf.

tresses: but the Hebrews often using abstracts for concretes, it signifies equally *protectors, defenders,* and *guardians,* as Mr. Mede (2) hath shown in several instances. This being the derivation and signification of the word, the verse may litterally be translated thus, *And the god Mahuzzim in his estate shall he honor; even a god whom his fathers knew not, shall he honor with gold and silver, and with precious stones, and desirable things.* There are examples of the same construction in other parts of scripture, as particularly in Psalm lxxxvi. 9. *they shall glorify thy name;* where (3) in the original the verb and particle prefixed to the noun are the same as in this passage. But if it be thought requisite to separate *God* and *Mahuzzim,* and to express the force of the particle ל, then the verse may be translated thus, *And with God,* or *instead of God, Mahuzzim in his estate shall he honor; even with God,* or *instead of God,* (4) *those whom his fathers knew not shall he honor with gold and silver, and with precious stones, and desirable things.* However it be translated, the meaning evidently is, that he should establish the worship of *Mahuzzim,* of *protectors, defenders,* and *guardians.* He should worship them as God, or with God; and who is there so little acquainted with ecclesiastical history, as not to know that the worship of *saints* and angels was established both in the Greek and Latin church? They were not only invocated and adored as patrons, intercessors, and guardians of mankind; but festival days were instituted to them; miracles were ascribed to them; churches were erected to them; their very relics were worshipped; and their shrines and images were adorned with the most costly offerings, and *honored with gold and silver, and with*

(2) Mede's Works, B. 3. p. 669, 670. Wherefore the Septuagint five times in the Psalms render the word מעוז *Mahoz* ὑπερασπιστής, ['a defender'] and the Vulgar Latin as often *protector.* The places are these; Psal. xxvii. 1. xxviii. 8. xxxi. 3, 5. xxxvii. 39.

(3) יכבדו לשמך glorificabunt nomen tuum. [Translated in the text.]

(4) אשר often signifies *ille qui,* ['he who'] *illi qui,* ['they who'] as in Numb. xxii. 6. Ruth ii. 2. Gen. vii. 23. Josh. xvii. 16. 1 Sam. xxx. 27, 28, 29, 30, 31. The accusative case is placed before the verb, as מעזים is in the former period; and otherwise there is no accusative case governed by the verb יכבד.

precious stones and desirable things. And what renders the completion of the prophecy still more remarkable is, that they were celebrated and adored under the title of *Mahuzzim*, of *bulwarks* and *fortresses*, of *protectors* and *guardians* of mankind. Mr. Mede and Sir Isaac Newton (5) have proved this point by a great variety of authorities cited from the fathers and other ancient writers. It may be proper to recite some of the principal. Basil a monk, who was made bishop of Cæsarea in the year 369, and died in the year 378, concludes his oration upon the martyr Mamas with praying, 'that (6) God 'would preserve the church of Cæsarea unshaken, *being* 'guarded with the great towers of the martyrs.' In his oration upon the forty martyrs, whose relics were dispersed in all places thereabouts; 'These are they,' (7) saith he, 'who having taken possession of our country, *as certain* 'conjoined towers, secure it from the incursions of our 'enemies:' and he farther invokes them, 'O ye common 'keepers of mankind, good companions of our cares, 'coadjutors of our prayers, most powerful embassadors 'to God, &c.' Chrysostome in his thirty-second homily upon the epistle to the Romans, speaking of the relics of Peter and Paul, 'This corps, (8) saith he, meaning 'of Paul, fortifies that city of Rome *more strongly* 'than any tower, or than ten thousand rampires,

(5) Mede's Works, B. 3. p. 673, 674. Sir Isaac Newton's Observations on Daniel, Chap. 14.

(6) ασειστον την εκκλησιαν ταυτην, φρουρουμενην τοις μεγαλοις πυργοις των μαρτυρων διατηρησει. ecclesiam hanc quæ magnis martyrum turribus munitur, custodiat inconcussam. [Translated in the text.] Basil. Op. Vol. 2. p. 189. Edit. Benedict.

(7) ὑμεῖς εἰσιν οἱ την καθ' ἡμας χωραν διαλαβοντες, ὡσανει πυργοι τινες συνεχεις ασφαλειαν εκ της των εναντιων καταδρομης παρεχομενοι. Hi sunt qui regionem nostram obtinentes, veluti densæ quædam turres ipsam adversus hostium incursum tuto communiunt. [Translated in the text.] ibid. p. 155. ω κοινοι φυλακες του γενους των ανθρωπων, αγαθοι κοινωνοι φροντιδων, δεησεως συνεργοι, πρεσβευται δυνατωτατοι, κ. τ. λ. O communes generis humani custodes, boni curarum socii, precum fautores, legati potentissimi, &c. [Translated in the text.] p. 156.

(8) τουτο το σωμα τειχιζει την πολιν εκεινην, ὁ παντος πυργου και μυριων εστι περιβολων ασφαλεστερον· και μειζα τειχη το Πετρου. Hoc corpus urbem illam quasi mœniis cingit, quod omni turre et vallis innumeris tutius est; et eum hoc etiam Petri corpus. [Translated in the text.] Chrysost. Op. Vol. 9. p. 759. Edit. Benedict.

'as also doth the corps of Peter.' Are not these strong *Mahuzzim?* In his homily likewise upon the Egyptian martyrs he speaketh (9) after this manner, 'The bodies 'of these saints fortify our city *more strongly than any* '*impregnable wall of adamant;* and *as certain high* '*rocks* prominent on every side, not only repel the as-'saults of these enemies who fall under the senses and are 'seen by the eyes, but also subvert and dissipate the snares 'of invisible demons, and all the stratagems of the devil.' Hilary also will tell us, that neither the *guards* of saints, nor [angelorum munitiones] the *bulwarks* of angels are wanting to those who are willing to stand. Here *angels* are *Mahuzzim,* as *saints* were before. The Greeks at this day, in their Preces Horatiæ, thus invocate the blessed virgin, 'O thou virgin mother of God, 'thou impregnable *wall,* thou *fortress* of salvation [מעון ישועות Psal. 28.] we call upon thee, that thou 'would frustrate the purposes of our enemies, and be 'a *fence* to this city:' thus they go on, calling her *The Hope, Safeguard, and Sanctuary of Christians.* Gregory Nyssen in his third oration upon the forty martyrs calleth them [δορυφοροι και ὑπερασπισαι] *guarders and protectors:* Eucherius his St. Gervase *the perpetual* [propugnator] *protector of the faithful.* Theodoret (1) calleth the holy

(9) τα γαρ των ἁγιων σωματα τȣτων τειχȣς παντος αδαμαντος και ἀῤῥαγȣς ασφαμεςερον ἡμιν τειχιζει την πολιν· και καθαπερ σκοπελοι τινες ὑψηλοι προβεβλημενοι πανταχοθεν, ȣχι τας των αισθητων τȣτων, και ὁρωμενων εχθρων προσβολας αποκρȣονται μονον, αλλα και τας των αορατων δαιμονων επιβȣλας, και πασαν τȣ διαβολȣ μεθοδειαν ανατρεπȣσι τε. και διαλυȣσιν. Sanctorum enim horum corpora quovis adamantino et inexpugnabili muro tutius nobis urbem muniunt; et tanquam excelsi quidam scopuli undique prominentes, non horum, qui sub sensus cadunt, et oculis cernuntur, hostium impetus propulsant tantum, sed etiam invisibilium dæmonum insidias omnesque diaboli fraudes subvertunt, ac dissipant. [Translated in the text.] Ibid. Vol. 2. p. 699.

(1) και ὡς πολιȣχȣς τιμωσι και φυλακας, veneranturque tanquam urbium præsides atque custodes. ['And they honour them as the keepers and guardians of cities.'] ȣτοι γε εισιν ατεχνως προμοι ανθρωπων, και προμαχοι, και επικȣροι, και των κακων αποτρυπαιοι, και ὑπο των δαιμονων επιφερομενας αποδιοπομπȣμενοι βλαβας. Hi sunt vere hominum duces, et propugnatores, et auxiliatores, malorumque depulsores, damna, quæ a dæmonibus infliguntur, procul arcentes. ['These are truly the captains, the defenders and helpers of men, the averters of evils, who drive far away those injuries that are brought upon them from demons.'] Theod. Op. Vol. 4. de Græcarum affectionum Curation. Serm. 8. p. 593, 594, 600. Edit. Paris. 1642.

martyrs *Guardians of cities, Lieutenants of places, Captains of men, Princes, Champions and Guardians, by whom disasters are turned from us, and those which come from devils debarred and driven away.* By these and other authorities it appears, not only that *Mahuzzim* were worshipped, but they were worshipped likewise as *Mahuzzim.* This superstition began to prevail in the fourth century; and in the eighth century, in the year 787, the worship of images and the like was fully established by the seventh general council, and the second which was held at Nice: such different fortune attended that city, that there the first general council established orthodoxy, and there also the seventh established idolatry by law.

Other instances of his regard to *Mahuzzim* are produced in the next verse. *Thus shall he do in the most strong holds with a strange god, whom he shall acknowlege, and increase with glory: and he shall cause them to rule over many, and shall divide the land for gain.* (ver. 39.) Porphyry (2) explains this of Antiochus fortifying the city of Jerusalem, and placing garrisons in the other cities, and persuading the people to worship Jupiter; and then giving much honor and glory to those whom he had so persuaded, and causing them to rule over the other Jews, and dividing possessions and distributing rewards to them for their prevarication. But if all the rest could be accommodated to Antiochus, how could Jupiter, whom he had always worshipped, be called *a strange God whom he should acknowlege?* The

(2) Quod Porphyrius ita edisserit: faciet hæc omnia, ut muniat arcem Jerosolem, et in cæteris urbibus ponat præsidia, et Judæos doceat adorare Deum alienum; haud dubium quin Jovem significet. Quem quum illis ostenderit, et adorandum esse persuaserit: tunc dabit deceptis honorem, et gloriam plurimam: et faciet cæteris qui in Judæa fuerint dominari, et pro prævaricatione possessiones dividet, et dona distribuet. ['Which Porphyry thus explains, he will do all these things; he will fortify the city of Jerusalem, and put garrisons in the other cities, and teach the Jews to worship a strange god, that is without doubt Jupiter. Whom, when he has thus shewn to them, and persuaded them that he is to be worshipped, he will bestow upon them, when thus deceived, much glory and honour, and he will make them to have authority over others in Judea, and for their transgressions of the law, he will divide possessions among them, and distribute presents.'] Hieron. Col. 1132.

worship of *Mahuzzim* was indeed the worship of a strange god, both to those who imposed it, and to those who received it in the Christian church. But for the better understanding of this part of the prophecy, it may be proper to propose a more litteral translation of it. *Thus shall he do; to the defenders of Mahuzzim together with the strange god whom he shall acknowlege, he shall multiply honor; and he shall cause them to rule over many, and the earth he shall divide for a reward.* Mr. Mede's (3) translation is somewhat different: but I conceive it is neither so litteral, nor so just to the original. *And he shall make the holds of the Mahuzzim withall* (or jointly) *to the foreign god, whom acknowleging he shall increase with honor; and shall cause them to rule over many, and shall distribute the earth for a reward.* Let us examin and compare the translations together. In our bible-translation it is, *Thus shall he do in the most strong holds,* or as we read in the margin; *in the fortresses of munitions, with a strange god:* but here *Mahuzzim* is not taken personally, as it was in the foregoing verse. Mr. Mede translates it thus, *And he shall make the holds of the Mahuzzim withall* (or jointly) *to the foreign god:* but then he doth not express the force of the particle prefixed to *holds* in the Hebrew, which ought not to be neglected. *Whom he shall acknowlege and increase with glory,* says our bible-translation: but there is no conjunction like *and* before *increase,* and no preposition like *with* before *glory* in the original. Mr. Mede hath avoided the former objection by changing the verb into a participle. *Whom acknowleging he shall increase with honor;* but the latter objection remains still in its full strength. The latter part is much the same in all translations: but in our bible-translation there is nothing to which *them* can be referred, *And he shall cause* them *to rule over many;* for it cannot well be said, that *he shall cause* the strong holds *to rule over many.* Let us now consider, how these inconveniences may be wholly

(3) Mede's Works, B. 3. p. 667.

avoided by a new translation. *Thus* (4) *shall we do:* So the same words are translated ver. 30, but then here a stop is to be made. *To* (5) *the defenders of Mahuzzim,* or *to the priests of Mahuzzim:* Here the force of the participle is expressed; here again the abstract is used for the concrete as in the foregoing verse, *holds* or *fortresses* for *defenders* and *supporters,* or *priests* as it may be translated; and this notion of the word I find (6) approved and confirmed by Father Houbigant. It is manifest, that persons must be meant, because they are said afterwards to *rule over many. Together* (7) *with the strange god whom he shall acknowlege:* This is the most usual signification of the preposition; and if *Mahuzzim* be not considered as the *strange god,* it is difficult to say who *the strange god is. He* (8) *shall multiply honour:* Here is no conjunction, nor preposition inserted, without authority from the original. *He shall multiply honor:* the noun is the same as the verb in the verse preceding, *he shall honor. He shall multiply honor* to the defenders and champions of Mahuzzim, as well as to Mahuzzim themselves. Deifying Mahuzzim, he shall also glorify their priests and ministers: (9) *and he shall cause them to rule over many, and the earth he shall divide for a reward.* The prophecy thus expounded, the completion becomes obvious and evident to the meanest capacity,

(4) ועשה Sic faciet. [' Thus shall he do.']

(5) למבצרי מעזים propugnatoribus Mahuzzimorum. [Translated in the text.]

(6) למבצרי מעזים *custodibus Maozim,* ex בצר, significatu Arabico, *videre, esse intelligentem,* ut significentur sacerdotes, qui dei istius cultum callebant, atque in eo populum instituebant. Liquet ex verbo המשילם *dominos faciet eos,* notari in vocabulo מבצרי personas, non munitiones. [' *to the defenders of Mahuzzim,*' from בצר, which in Arabic signifies *to see, to understand,* and so denotes the priests, who were skilled in the worship of that god, and instructed the people therein. It is evident, from the word המשילם, ' *he shall make them lords,*' that in the word מבצרי, ' persons not munitions are pointed out.'] Houbigant in locum.

(7) עם אלוה נכר אשר הכיר una cum deo alieno quem agnoscet. [Translated in the text.]

(8) ירבה כבד multiplicabit honorem. Ver. 38. יכבד honorabit. [Translated in the text.]

(9) ואדמה יחלק במחיר et dominari faciet eos in multos: והמשילם ברבים terramque partietur in mercedem. [Translated in the text.]

The defenders and champions of Mahuzzim were the monks, and priests, and bishops: and of them it may most truly and properly be said, that they were *increased with honor*, that they *ruled over many*, *and divided the land for gain*. Mr. Mede (1) applies the latter part to the Mahuzzim themselves: and he paraphrases it after this manner: "Yea he shall distribute the earth among "his Mahuzzim; so that besides several patrimonies "which in every country he shall allot them, he shall "share whole kingdoms and provinces among them: "Saint George shall have England, Saint Andrew "Scotland, Saint Denis France, Saint James Spain, "Saint Mark Venice, &c. and bear rule as presidents "and patrons of their several countries." But it appears more natural and easy to understand it of the principal teachers and propagators of the worship of Mahuzzim, the bishops, and priests, and monks, and religious orders: and that they have been honored, and reverenced, and almost adored in former ages; that their authority and jurisdiction have extended over the purses and consciences of men; that they have been enriched with noble buildings and large endowments, and have had the choicest of the lands appropriated for church lands; are points of such public notoriety, that they require no proof, as they will admit of no denial.

Such was the degeneracy of the christian church, and now we shall see its punishment, especially in the eastern part of it. *And at the time of the end shall the king of the south push at him, and the king of the north shall come against him like a whirlwind with chariots, and with horsemen, and with many ships, and he shall enter into the countries, and shall overflow, and pass over.* (ver. 40.) These things also (2) Porphyry refers to Antiochus:

(1) Mede's Works, p. 672.

(2) Et hæc Porphyrius ad Antiochum refert: quod undecimo anno regni sui rursus contra sororis filium Ptolemæum Philometorem dimicaverit. Qui audiens venire Antiochum, congregavit multa populorum millia. Sed Antiochus quasi tempestas valida in curribus, et in equitibus, et in classe magna ingressus sit terras plurimas, et transeundo universa vastaverit: veneritque ad terram inclytam, id est, Judæam,——et arcem munierit de ruinis murorum civitatis, et sic perrexerit in Ægyptum. [Translated in the text.] Hieron. ibid.

that in the eleventh year of his reign he warred again against his sister's son Ptolemy Philometor, who hearing of his coming, gathered together many thousands of the people; but Antiochus like a whirlwind with chariots, and with horsemen, and with a great fleet entered into many countries, and in passing over laid all waste; and came to the famous land, that is Judea, and fortified the citadel out of the ruins of the walls of the city, and so marched forwards into Egypt. But here Porphyry may be convicted of falsifying history; for after Antiochus was dismissed out of Egypt by the Romans, he never ventured to go thither again. The (3) eleventh was the last year of his reign: and all (4) historians agree, that the latter part of his reign was employed in his eastern expedition, in reducing Artaxias king of Armenia to his obedience, and in collecting the tribute among the Persians; and before he returned, he died. Others therefore (5) have said, that the prophet here resumes his former subject of the wars between Antiochus Epiphanes king of Syria, and Ptolemy Philometor king of Egypt. But it is not likely, after giving an account of the conclusion of those wars by the interposition of the Romans, that he should return to them again. Having hitherto deduced things in a regular series, it is more probable that he should continue that series, and proceed to other subsequent events, than that of a sudden he should stop short, and revert to Antiochus, after the intermixture of so many other affairs. But the question is not so much what it was probable for him to do, as what he actually hath done; and we shall find that the remaining parts of the prophecy are applicable to other

(3) Obiit cum regnasset annos solidos undecim. ['He died when he had reigned eleven full years.'] Petavii Rat. Temp. Part 1. Lib. 4. Cap. 10. So likewise Eusebius, Jerome, & Sulpitius Severus. Usher's Annals. A. M. 3840. Prideaux Connect. Part. 2. B. 3. Anno 164.

(4) 1 Macc. iii. 31, &c. vi. 1. &c. 2 Macc. ix. 1, &c. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 8. Sect. 1. p. 544. Edit. Hudson. Valesii Excerpta ex Polybio, p. 145. Appian. de Bell. Syr. p. 131. Edit. Steph. p. 212. Edit. Tollii. Diodorus Siculus apud Hieron. Col. 1131.

(5) Menochius, Sanctius, Maldonatus, &c. apud Poli Synops. Calmet, Houbigant, &c. in locum.

subsequent events than to the transactions of Antiochus. The kings of the *south* and the *north* are to be taken and explained according to the times, of which the prophet is speaking. As long as the kingdoms of Egypt and Syria were subsisting, so long the Egyptian and Syrian kings were the kings of the south and the north: but when these kingdoms were swallowed up in the Roman empire, then other powers became the kings of the south and the north. *And at the time of the end*, that is, (as Mr. Mede (6) rightly expounds it) in the latter days of the Roman empire; *shall the king of the south push at him:* that is the Saracens, who were of the Arabians, and came from the south: and under the conduct of their false prophet Mohammed and his successors, made war upon the emperor Heraclius, and with amazing rapidity deprived him of Egypt, Syria, and many of his finest provinces. They were only to *push* at, and sorely wound the Greek empire, but they were not to subvert and destroy it. *And the king of the north shall come against him like a whirlwind with chariots, and with horsemen, and with many ships, and he shall enter into the countries, and shall overflow and pass over:* that is, the Turks, who were originally of the Scythians, and came from the north; and after the Saracens seised on Syria, and assaulted with great violence the remains of the Greek empire, and in time rendered themselves absolute masters of the whole. The Saracens dismembered and weakened the Greek empire, but the Turks totally ruined and destroyed it: and for this reason, we may presume, so much more it is said of the Turks than of the Saracens. Their *chariots* and their *horsemen* are particularly mentioned; because their armies consisted chiefly of horse, especially before the institution of the Janizaries, and their standards still are horse-tails. Their *ships* too are said to be *many;* and indeed without many ships they could never have gotten possession of so many ilands and maritim countries, nor have so frequently vanquished the Venetians, who were

(6) Mede's Works, B. 3. p. 674. & B. 4. p. 816.

at that time the greatest naval power in Europe. What fleets, what armies were employed in the besieging and taking of Constantinople, of Negropont or Eubœa, of Rhodes, of Cyprus, and lastly of Candy or Crete? The words *shall enter into the countries, and overflow, and pass over*, give us an exact idea of their *overflowing* the western parts of Asia, and then *passing over* into Europe, and fixing the seat of their empire at Constantinople, as they did under their seventh emperor Mohammed the second.

Among his other conquests this king of the north was to take possession of the holy land, and to subdue the neighbouring countries; but the mixed people of Arabia were to escape out of his hands. *He shall enter also into the glorious land, and many countries shall be overthrown; but these shall escape out of his hand even Edom, and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon.* (ver. 41.) Porphyry and those of his opinion (7) affirm, that Antiochus marching hastily against Ptolemy the king of the south, did not meddle with the Idumeans, and Moabites, and Ammonites, who were situated on the side of Judea; lest his being engaged in another war should render Ptolemy the stronger. Grotius saith, (8) that Antiochus spared these nations because they obeyed all his commands; and therefore the Maccabees made war upon them, as the friends of Antiochus. An ancient commentator, and venerable father, Theodoret, on the contrary, (9) asserts, that neither do these things any more than the rest fit Antiochus; for having overthrown those nations, he con-

(7) Antiochus, aiunt, festinans contra Ptolemæum regem austri, Idumæos, et Moabitas et Ammonitas qui ex latere Judææ erant, non tetigit; ne occupatus alio prælio, Ptolemæum redderet fortiorem. [Translated in the text.] Hieron. ibid.

(8) His pepercit Antiochus, quod, omnia imperata facerent. Vide 1 Mace. v. Ideo Maccabæi his populis, ut Antiochi amicis, bellum intulere. [Translated in the text.] Grot. in locum.

(9) Οὐδὲ ταῦτα δὲ ἁρμοττει τῳ Αντιοχῳ· και γαρ τουτους κατασρεψαμενος, ἡγεμονας αυτοις κατεστησεν, ὧν εἷς ην ὁ Τιμοθεος Αμμανιτων ἡγουμενος. Neque hæc Antiocho conveniunt; etenim cum hos subegisset, duces ipsis præfuit, ex quibus unus erat Timotheus dux Ammanitarum. [Translated in the text.] Theodoret in locum, p. 690. Edit. Sirmondi.

stituted rulers over them, one of whom was Timotheus the commander of the Ammonites. This Timotheus, I suppose, was the same who is mentioned in the fifth chapter of the first book of Maccabees. The diversity of these accounts demonstrates the difficulty of accommodating this passage to Antiochus. If we believe Theodoret, it cannot be applied to Antiochus in any sense. If we rather follow Porphyry or Grotius, it can be applied to Antiochus only in an improper sense. The words are, *Many countries shall be overthrown, but these shall escape out of his hand.* The manner of expression sufficiently implies, that he should attempt to conquer *these* as well as the rest, but not with the same success: *These* should not like the rest *be overthrown;* they should deliver themselves, and *escape out of his hands;* and we read of no such transaction in the history of Antiochus. We shall find that the whole may be much better accommodated to the Othman empire. *He shall enter also into the glorious land:* the same expression *of the glorious land* was used before; (ver. 16.) and in both places it is rendered by the Syriac translator (1) *the land of Israel.* Now nothing is better known, than that the Turks took possession of the holy land, and remain masters of it to this day. Sultan Selim (2) entered into Jerusalem in his way to Egypt. *And many countries shall be overthrown:* Aleppo, Damascus, Gaza, and the neighbouring cities and countries were forced to submit, and receive the yoke of the conqueror. *But these shall escape out of his hand, even Edom, and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon:* these were some of the people who inhabited Arabia, and the Arabians the Turks have never been able with all their forces to subdue entirely. Sultan Selim their ninth emperor,

(1) Stabitque in terra Israelis. ['And he shall stand in the land of Israel,'] ver 16. Pervenietque ad terram Israelis. ['And he shall come into the land of Israel.'] ver. 41. Syr.

(2) Savage's Abridgment of Knolles and Rycaut. Vol. 1. p. 243. Prince Cantemir's Hist. of the Othman empire in Selim I. Sect. 21. p. 163. Joannis Leunclavii Pandect. Hist. Turcic. Cap. 210. p. 486. Edit. Paris. p. 366. Edit. Venet. Pauli Jovii Hist. Lib. 17. et Rerum Turc. Comment. in Selymo.

was the conqueror of the neighbouring countries, and annexed them to the Othman empire; but he could not make a complete conquest of the Arabians. By large gifts (3) he brought over some of their chieftains, and so bribed them to a submission: and ever since his time, (4) the Othman emperors have paid them an annual pension of forty thousand crowns of gold for the safe passage of the caravans and pilgrims going to Mecca: and for their farther security the Sultan commonly orders the Basha of Damascus to attend them with soldiers and water-bearers, and to take care that their number never fall short of fourteen thousand. This pension was not paid for some years on account of the war in Hungary: and what was the consequence? One of the Arabian princes in the year 1694, with several thousand of his countrymen, attacked and plundered the caravan going in pilgrimage to Mecca, and made them all prisoners. The neighbouring Bashas were sent against him; but the prince defeated them all by a stratagem, and put them to flight. Among the prisoners who had been taken was the most illustrious Chan of Tartary, whom the Arabians dismissed upon his parole, that he would carry their complaints to the Sultan, and procure the continuance of the pension. He stood to his engagement, and never ceased importuning the Othman court, till the arrears of the pension were duly paid. But notwithstanding this pension, the Arabians, as often as they find a lucky opportunity, rob and plunder the Turks as well as other travelers. An instance of the same kind happened lately, and is related in the London Gazette of Feb. 11, 1758. "Constantinople, Decem-" ber 23. The Mecca caravan, which has been lately

(3) Savage ibid. p. 241. Itaque Selymus per idoneos homines plures eorum duces data fide ad se Memphim evocavit, et summa liberalitate prosecutus est: quorum exemplo fiebat, ut cæteri quotidie accederent, acceptisque muneribus in verba ejus continuo jurarent. ['Therefore Selim by fit persons, invited many of their commanders to Memphis, granting them a safe conduct, and treated them with the greatest munificence. Others encouraged by their example, came daily to him, and receiving large presents they sware fidelity to him.'] Pauli Jovii Hist. Lib. 18. p. 1064. Edit. Gryphii. 1561.

4) Prince Cantemir's Hist. in Ahmed II. Sect. 49. p. 393. with the note, and also in Bajazet II. Sect. 1. p. 116. with note 2.

" plundered by the Arabs, was attacked by a numerous " body of that people, some say, from 30 to 40,000. " The action lasted 16 hours. They first cut off the " Basha of Sidon, who marched out as usual to supply " the pilgrims with provisions; he was killed in the en- " gagement; then they turned and attacked the cara- " van. The Emir Hadgé, or commanding Basha, offered " them 1000 purses of money to desist; but they refused " any terms, being determined by a mere principle of " revenge, for their tribes having been laid aside as " conductors or guards to the caravan, and others sub- " stituted in their place; and it is thought the removal " of their favourite, Ezade-Basha, from that post to " Aleppo, had also some share in it. At the return to " Damascus of the fugitive soldiery, who convoyed the " caravan, those in the town rose up in arms against " them, as traitors to their faith; a great slaughter en- " sued, and continued some time; but there are advices " since, that all is quieted there. The Basha of the " caravan fled to Gaza, with about 15 or 16 of his " people, and it is thought he will lose his head. The " riches lost to many cities of this empire, which are " either taken by the Arabs, or dispersed in the deserts, " are computed to amount to an immense sum, as they " are supplied from India with all sorts of valuable mer- " chandize, spices, &c. by that canal. A like accident " happened in the year 1694, under Ahmed the 2d." Other instances of the same kind have happened since; and are also recorded in the London Gazette; but I cannot recollect the dates, and at present have not the collection of Gazettes to apply to upon this occasion. So constantly have the Arabs maintained the same spirit in all ages; and there is no power that can effectually controll them. Armies have been sent against parties of the Arabians, but without success. These free-booters have commonly been too cunning for their enemies; and when it was thought that they were well nigh surrounded and taken, they have still *escaped out of their hands.* So well doth this particular prediction relating to some of the tribes of the Arabians agree with that

general one concerning the main body of the nation, (Gen. xvi. 12.) *He will be a wild man; his hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against him: and he shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren.*

But though the Arabians should *escape out of his hands*, yet Egypt should *not escape*, but fall under his dominion together with the adjoining countries. *He shall stretch forth his hand also upon the countries, and the land of Egypt shall not escape. But he shall have power over the treasures of gold and of silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt: and the Libyans and the Ethiopians shall be at his steps* (ver. 42, 43.) We read, saith (5) Jerome, that Antiochus did these things in part: but what follows relating to the Lybians and Ethiopians, our doctors assert, agrees better with Antichrist; for Antiochus did not posess Lybia and Ethiopia. Theodoret too (6) affirms, thatthese things also by no means fit Antiochus, for he neither possessed Lybia, nor Ethiopia, nor even Egypt itslf. This prophecy then cannot belong to Antiochus and indeed the proper application is to the Othman emperor. *He shall stretch forth his hand also upon the countries:* This implies that his dominions should be of large extent; and he hath *stretched forth his hand* upon many, not only Asian and European, but likewise African countries. Egypt in particular was destined to submit to his yoke: *And the land of Egypt shall not escape; but he shall have power over the treasures of gold and of silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt:* and the conquest of Egypt with the neighbouring countries follows next in order after the conquest of Judea with the

(5) Hæc Antiochum ex parte fecisse legimus. Sed quod sequitur, *per Libyas et Æthiopias transibit*, magis nostri asserunt Antichristo convenire. Antiochus enim Libyam quam pene Africam intelligunt, Æthiopiamque non tenuit. [' We read that Antiochus did these thingsin part. But that which follows, *he shall pass through Libya and Ethiopia*,our writers affirm agrees better with Antichrist. For Libya, by which most people understand Africa, and Ethiopia, Antiochus never possessed.'] Hieron. ibid.

(6) Και ταυτα δε ηκιστα αρμοττει τω Αντιοχω· ουτε γαρ Λιβυης, ουτε Αιθιοπιας εκρατησεν, ουτε δε αυτης της Αιγυπτου. Et hæ item minime conveniunt Antiocho: qui neque Libya, neque etiam ipsa Ægypto potitus est. [Translated in the text.] Theod. ibid. p. 691.

neighbouring countries, as in the prophecy, so likewise in history. The Othman emperor Selim (7) having routed and slain Gauri sultan of Egypt in a battle near Aleppo, became master of all Syria and Judea. He then marched into Egypt against Tumanbäi the new sultan, whom also having vanquished and taken prisoner, he barbarously ordered him to be hanged before one of the gates of Cairo: and so put an end to the government of the Mamalucs, and established that of the Turks in Egypt. The prophecy says particularly, that *he should have power over the treasures of gold and of silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt:* And history informs us, that (8) when Cairo was taken, "the Turks "rifled the houses of the Egyptians, as well friends as "foes, and suffered nothing to be locked up or kept "private from them: and Selim caused 500 of the "chiefest families of the Egyptians to be transported to "Constantinople, as likewise a great number of the "Mamalucs wives and children, besides the sultan's "treasure and other vast riches." And since that time, it is impossible to say what immense treasures have been drained out of this rich and fertil, but oppressed and wretched country. The prophecy says farther, that some others also of the African nations should submit to the conqueror, *the Libyans and the Ethiopians should be at his steps:* And we read in history, that (9) after the conquest of Egyp, "the terror of Selim's "many victories now spreading wide, the kings of "Afric bordering upon Cyrenaca, sent their ambassa-"dors with proffers to become his tributaries. Other

(7) Prince Cantemir's Hist. in Selim I. Sect. 16. p. 156, &c. Savage's Abridgment of Knolles and Rycaut, Vol. i. p. 240, &c. Pauli Jovii Hist. Lib. 18. et Rerum Turc. Comment. in Selimo. Leunclav. Annales Turc. p. 341. Edit. Paris. p. 265. Edit. Venet. Pandect. Hist. Turc. Cap. 207 &c.

(8) Savage, ibid. p. 246 et 248. Paulii Jovii Hist. Lib. 18.

(9) Savage, ibid. p. 248. Ipsique Africæ reges Cyreniacæ finitimi, qui pendere tributa, et Sulthanis certo fœdere parere consueverant, legationes destinabant.——Omnesque hæ gentes, quæ ad Æthiopiam vergunt, sicuti amicitiam potius, quam imperium Sulthanorum agnoscebant, ita victoriæ fama perductæ, in Turcarum fidem facile concessere. [Translated in the text.] Paulii Jovii Hist. Lib. 18. p. 1062 et 1065. Edit. Gryph. 1561.

"more remote nations also towards Ethiopia were easily "induced to join in amity with the Turks." At this present time also many places in Africa besides Egypt, as Algiers, Tunis, &c. are under the dominion of the Turks. One thing more is observable with regard to the fate of Egypt, that the particular prophecy coincides exactly with the general one, as it did before in the instance of Arabia. It was foretold by Ezekiel, (xxix. 14. xxx. 12.) that Egypt should always be a *base kingdom*, and subject to strangers; and here it is foretold, that in the latter times it should be made a province to the Turks, as we see at this day.

The two next, which are the two last verses of this chapter, I conceive, remain yet to be fulfilled. *But tidings out of the east, and out of the north, shall trouble him; therefore he shall go forth with great fury to destroy, and utterly to make away many. And he shall plant the tabernacles of his palace,* or rather *of his camp, between the seas in the glorious holy mountain,* or as it is in the margin *the mountain of delight and holiness; yet he shall come to his end, and none shall help him.* (ver. 44, 45.) Prideaux (1) and other learned men as well as Porphyry and Grotius, refer this passage to Antiochus; and to his hearing of the revolt of the provinces in the east, and of Artaxias in the north; and to his going forth therefore in great anger and with a great army to reduce them to obedience. But if this part might be fitly applied to Antiochus, yet how could he be said afterwards to *plant the tabernacles of his camp between the seas in the glorious holy mountain;*

(1) Prideaux Connect. Part 2. B. 3. Anno 164. Houbigant in locum, &c. &c. Porphyr. apud Hieron. Col. 1133. Grotius in locum. Nuntius belli a Partho et Armenio. Parthi ad *orientem* Antiocho, Armenii ad *septentrionem*. De Partho testimonium habemus Taciti, ubi de Judæis agit, "Rex Antiochus demere superstitionem et mores Græcorum dare adnixus, quo minus teterrimam gentem in melius mutaret, Parthico bello prohibitus est." ['Tidings came of a war from the Parthians and Armenians. Parthia lay on the *east* of Antiochus, Armenia on the *north*. Concerning the Parthian war, we have the testimony of Tacitus, where he is treating of the Jews, "king Antiochus attempting to destroy their superstition, and to introduce the Greek manners among them, was hindered by a Parthian war, from improving that most depraved nation.' "]

for he returned no more into Judea, but died in that eastern expedition? Porphyry therefore (2) considers the word *Aphedno*, which we translate *his palace* or *his camp*, as the proper name of a place situated between the two great rivers, Tigris and Euphrates: But as Jerome replies, he cannot produce any history, wherein mention is made of any such place; neither can he say which is *the glorious and holy mountain*; beside the folly of interpreting two seas, by two rivers. Father Houbigant (3) understands it as the name of a place situated in the mountains, in which mountains the book of Maccabees relates Antiochus to have died. This place, says he, was *between two seas*, namely the Caspian and Euxine, in Armenia itself, where Artaxias prepared rebellion. But neither doth he produce any authority for his assertions. Where doth he read of any such place as *Aphedno* between the Caspian and Euxine seas? Where doth he read that Antiochus died in the mountains of Armenia? The book of Maccabees, which he allegeth, testifieth no such thing. Both the (4) books of Maccabees agree, that Antiochus died returning out of Persia, through Babylon according to the first book, through Ecbatana according to the second, *in the mountains* indeed, but it is not said in what mountains. Antiochus was victorious in Armenia, and did not die there. Besides, with what propriety could any mountain in Armenia be called *the*

(2) *Aphedno*, qui inter duo latissima situs est flumina, Tigrim et Euphratem. Quumque hucusque processerit, in quo monte inclyto sederit, et sancto, dicere non potest: quanquam inter duo maria eum sedisse probare non potest: et stultum sit duo Mesopotamiæ flumina, duo maria interpretari. [' *Aphedno*, which is situated between two very large rivers, the Tigris and Euphrates. When he has proceeded thus far, he cannot tell us, in what illustrious or holy mountain he encamped; although he cannot prove that he encamped between two seas; it is besides foolish to interpret the two rivers of Mesopotamia by two seas.'] Hieron. Col. 1133.

(3) Accipimus *Aphedno*, ut nomen loci, in montibus narrat liber Machabæorum Antiochum occidisse. Hic locus erat *inter duo maria*, nimirum mare Caspium et Pontum Euxinum, in Armenia ipsa, ubi rebellionem parabat Artaxias. [' We understand *Aphedno* to be the name of a place. The book of Maccabees relates that Antiochus died in a mountainous country. This place lay *between two seas*, namely the Caspian and the Euxine, in Armenia itself, where Artaxias was organising a rebellion.'] Houbigant in locum.

(4) 1 Macc. iv. 4. 2 Macc. ix. 2. 28.

glorious holy mountain? Theodotion and Aquila took (5) render it *Aphedanos* the proper name of a place, as doth Jerome also, who taketh it for a place near Nicopolis, which formerly was called Emmaus. Indeed if it be the name of any place, it must be some place in the holy land; because in the Psalms (cvi. 24.) *the pleasant land,* in Jeremiah (iii. 19.) *the pleasant land, the goodly heritage,* and in Ezekiel (xx. 6.) *the glory of all lands,* and constantly throughout the book of Daniel, *the pleasant land,* (viii. 9.) *the glorious land* (xi. 16.) and again *the glorious land* (ver. 41.) are appellatives of the holy land; and so consequently *the glorious holy mountain* must be Sion, or Olivet, or some mountain in the holy land, which lieth *between the seas,* (6) the Dead Sea on the east, and the Mediterranean on the west. But after all *Aphedno* doth not seem to be the name of any place. They who render it as the proper name of a place, most probably did not know what else to make of it: but the word (7) occurs in Jonathan's Targum of Jeremiah, (xliii. 10.) and there it signifies, *a pavilion, and he shall spread his royal pavilion over them;* and to the same purpose it should be translated here, *he shall plant the tabernacles of his camp between the seas in the glorious holy mountain.* This prophecy then cannot by the help of any explanation be made to fit and agree with Antiochus: and in our application of it to the Othman empire, as these events are yet future, we cannot pretend to point them out with any certainty and exactness. Mr. Mede (8) supposeth that "the *tidings*

(5) Theodotio: *Et figet tabernaculum suum in Aphedano inter maria.* ['And he shall fix his tent in Aphedanus between the seas.'] Aquila: *Et plantabit tabernaculum prætorii sui in* Αφαδανω *inter maria.* ['And he shall plant the tabernacle of his tent in Aphadanus between the seas.'] Aphedno juxta Nicopolim, quæ prius Emmaus vocabatur. ['Aphedno near Nicopolis, which was formerly called Emmaus.'] Hieron. Col. 1134.

(6) Inter duo maria, mare videlicet quod nunc appellatur Mortuum ab oriente, et mare Magnum. ['Between two seas, namely the sea on the east which is now called the Dead Sea, and the Mediterranean.'] Hieron. Col. 1134.

(7) אפדניה Et extendet *tentorium suum* super eos. ['And he shall spread his pavilion over them.']

(8) Mede's Works, B. 4. p. 816.

" *from the east and north* may be that of the return of " Judah and Israel from those quarters. For Judah " was carried captive at the first into the *east*, and " Israel by the Assyrian into the *north*, (namely in " respect of the holy land) and in those parts the " greatest number of each are dispersed at this day. " Of the reduction of Israel from the *north*, see the " prophecies Jer. xvi. 14, 15. and chap. xxiii. 3. also " chap. xxxiii. 8. Or if this *tidings from the north* " may be some other thing, yet *that from the east* I " may have some warrant to apply to the Jews return, " from that of the *sixth vial* in the Apocalyps xvi. 12. " where the waters of the great river Euphrates are " dried up, to prepare the way of the *kings of the* " *east.*" If this application be not admitted, yet it is universally known, that the Persians are seated to the east of the Othman dominions, and the Russians to the north. Persia hath indeed of late years been miserably torn and distracted by intestin divisions; but when it shall unite again in a settled government under one sovran, it may become again, as it hath frequently been, a dangerous rival and enemy to the Othman emperor. The power of Russia is growing daily; and it is a current tradition among the common people in Turky, that their empire shall one time or other be destroyed by the Russians. Sir Paul Rycaut in his account of the (9) Present state of the Greek Church, speaking of the respect and reverence which the Muscovites have " for the see of Constantinople, says also that " the " Greeks on the other side have an esteem and affection " for the Muscovites, as for those whom ancient pro- " phecies mentioned to be designed by God, for their " avengers and deliverers in after-ages." Which, if it proveth nothing more, yet proveth that the Greek church interpreteth this prophecy much in the same sense as we explain it. However this may be, the Port is at all times jealous of the junction of the two powers of Persia and Russia, and exerts all its policy to pre-

(9) Cap. 3. p. 83.

vent it. They are certainly two very formidable neighbours to the Turks; and who can say what tidings may or may not come from thence to trouble the Port? who can say, how unlikely soever it be at present, that they may not hereafter be made instruments of providence in the restoration of the Jews? Whatever be the motive and occasion, the Turk *shall go forth with great fury to destroy, and utterly to make away many.* The original word, which we translate *utterly to make away,* (1) signifies *to anathematize, to consecrate, to devote to utter perdition,* so that it strongly implies, that this war should be made upon a religious account. *And he shall plant the tabernacles of his camp between the seas in the glorious holy mountain.* It is a notion advanced by (2) some commentators, that here both the Turk and the Pope are signified, the former of whom hath fixed his seat between the Mediterranean and Euxine seas at Constantinople, and the latter between the Mediterranean and Adriatic at Rome; both Antichrists, the one without, the other within the temple of God. But such notions are more ingenious than solid, and have rather the resemblance of worth than the substance. *Between the seas in the glorious holy mountain* must denote, as we have shown, some part of the holy land. There the Turk shall incamp with all his power, *yet he shall come to his end, and none shall help him,* shall help him effectually, or deliver him. The same times and the same events seem to be presignified in this prophecy, as in that of Ezekiel concerning *Gog of the land of Magog.* He likewise is a northern power. He is represented as of (3) Scythian extraction. (xxxviii. 2.) *He cometh from his place out of the north parts.* (ver. 15.) His army too is described as consisting chiefly of *horses and horsemen,* (ver. 4.)

(1) החרים Anathematizavit, Anathemate vel anathemati, internecioni, perditioni devovit: Consecravit, Devotum effecit. [He anathematized, or devoted to a curse, to utter destruction, to perdition, he consecrated, or rendered devoted.'] Buxtorf.

(2) See Poole, and his additional commentators.

(3) Vide Bocharti Phaleg. L. 3. Cap. 13. Col. 117, &c.

He likewise hath *Ethiopia and Lybia with him.* (ver. 5.) *He shall come up against the people of Israel in the latter days* (ver. 16.) after their return from captivity. (ver. 8.) He too shall incamp *upon the mountains of Israel.* (xxxix. 2.) He shall also *fall upon the mountains of Israel, and all the people that is with him.* (ver. 4.) There the divine judgments shall overtake him, (xxxviii. 22, 23.) and God shall be *magnified* and *sanctified in the eyes of many nations.*

At that time there shall be great tribulation, (xii. 1.) *such as never was since there was a nation, even to that same time:* And after that shall be the general resurrection, (ver. 2.) *and many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlastng life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt.* They certainly are guilty of manifest violence and injury to the sacred text, and rack and torture the words to confess a meaning which they never meant, who contend that nothing more was meant in this passage, than the persecution of the Jews by Antiochus, and the Maccabees after some time coming out of the holes and caves of the earth, wherein they had concealed themselves from the fury and cruelty of their enemies. These critics usually pretend to be strong advocates for the litteral and obvious meaning of the prophecies: but here they pervert the plainest expressions into figures, and prefer the most forced to the most natural interpretation. The troubles under Antiochus were neither in degree nor in duration to be compared to what the nation had suffered under Nebuchadnezzar; so that the time of Antiochus could not be reckoned *a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation.* The Maccabees too came out of their lurking holes and caves, and recovered their city, and cleansed the sanctuary, even before the death of Antiochus himself: but the resurrection in this place is described as something subsequent to the destruction of the king of the north. Besides how could the Maccabees, who were a set of brave virtuous men, zealously devoted to their religion, liberty and country, by coming forth from the rocks and

caves to oppose the enemy in the open field, be said to *awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt?* Such expressions can with truth and propriety be applied only to the general resurrection of the just and unjust: and though it be said *many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake,* yet that is no objection to the truth here delivered; for as (4) Theodoret observed long ago, the prophet had said *many* for *all,* in the same manner as St. Paul hath put *many* for *all,* when he said, *If through the offence of one* many *be dead, much more the grace of God, and the gift by grace which is by one man, Jesus Christ, hath abounded unto* many: (Rom. v. 15.) and again (ver. 19.) *As by one man's disobedience* many *were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall* many *be made righteous.* The proper conclusion of all is the general resurrection, and the consequent happiness of the wise and good; (ver. 3.) *And they that be wise, shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever.*

The angel having thus finished his prophecy of the things *noted in the scripture of truth,* an inquiry is made relating to the time of these events. It was said before (xi. 40.) *At the time of the end shall the king of the south push at him:* and here the question is asked (ver. 6.) (5) *How long shall be the end of these wonders?* The answer is returned in the most solemn manner, (ver. 7.) *that it shall be for a time, times, and a half. A time, times, and a half,* as there hath been occasion to show in a former dissertation, are three prophetic years and a half; and three prophetic years and a half

(4) πολλοι δε, αντι τȣ παντες εφη· και γαρ ὁ μακαριος Παυλος αντι τȣ παντες, οἱ πολλοι τεθεικε λεγων. κ. τ. λ. *Multi* autem pro *omnes* dixit. Etenim beatus quoque Paulus *multi* pro *omnes* posuit, cum dixit, &c. [Translated [illegible] the text.] Theod. in loc. in p. [illegible] 3.

(5) עד-מתי קץ הפלאות Usque quo finis mirabilium; ['How long the end of wonders [illegible] things.'] Pagnin. Usque quo finis horum mirabilium? ['How long the end of these wonders [illegible] things'] Vul. Εως πο[illegible] ὁ περας ὡν ειρηκας των θαυμασιων; ['How long the end of the wonders which thou hast declared.'] Sept.

are 1260 prophetic days; and 1260 prophetic days are 1260 years. The same time therefore is prefixed for the desolation and oppression of the eastern church, as for the tyranny of the little horn (vii. 25.) in the western church: And it is wonderfully remarkable, that the doctrine of Mohammed was first forged at Mecca, and the supremacy of the Pope was established by virtue of a grant from the wicked tyrant Phocas, in the very same year of Christ 606. "It is to be observed, says "(6) Dean Prideaux, that Mahomet began this im- "posture about the same time that the Bishop of Rome, "by virtue of a grant from the wicked tyrant Phocas, "first assumed the title of Universal Pastor, and thereon "claimed to himself that supremacy which he hath been "ever since endevoring to usurp over the christian "church. [Phocas made this grant A. D. 606, which "was the very year that Mahomet retired to his cave "to forge that imposture there, which two years after "A. D. 608, he began to propagate at Mecca.] And "from this time both having conspired to found them- "selves an empire in imposture, their followers have "been ever since endevoring by the same methods, "that is, those of fire and sword, to propagate it among "mankind; so that Antichrist seems at this time to "have set both his feet upon Christendom together, the "one in the east, and the other in the west; and how "much each hath trampled upon the church of Christ, "the ages ever since succeeding have abundantly expe- "rienced." There is a farther notation of the time in the following words, *And when he shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people, all these things shall be finished:* when the Jews shall be recalled from their dispersion, then all these things shall receive their full and final completion. The prophet, not sufficiently understanding this answer (7) inquired, (v. 8.) *What or how long shall be these latter times or latter wonders?* And it is answered again, (ver.

(9) Life of Mahomet, p. 13. 8th Edit. See also Bishop Jewel's Reply to Harding, p. 181.

(7) מה אחרית אלה. [Translated in the text.

11.) that *from the time of taking away the daily sacrifice, and setting up the abomination that maketh desolate, there shall be a thousand two hundred and ninety days.* The days still are prophetic days or years: but even if they were natural days, they could by no manner of computation be accommodated to the times of Antiochus Epiphanes. The *setting up of the abomination of desolation* appears to be a general phrase, and comprehensive of various events. It is applied by the writer of the first book of Maccabees (i. 54.) to the profanation of the temple by Antiochus, and his setting up the image of Jupiter Olympius upon the altar of God. It is applied by our Saviour (Matt. xxiv. 15.) to the destruction of the city and temple by the Romans, under the conduct of Titus, in the reign of Vespasian. It may for the same reason be applied to the Roman emperor Adrian's building a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus, in the same place where the temple of God had stood; and to the misery of the Jews, and the desolation of Judea that followed. It may with equal justice be applied to the Mohammedans invading and desolating Christendom, and converting the churches into mosques: and this latter event seemeth to have been particularly intended in this passage. If this interpretation be true, the religion of Mohammed will prevail in the east the space of 1260 years; and then a great and glorious revolution will follow; perhaps the restoration of the Jews, perhaps the destruction of Antichrist; but another still greater and more glorious will succeed: and what can this be so probably as the full conversion of the Gentiles to the church of Christ and the beginning of the millennium or reign of the saints upon earth? For (ver. 12.) *blessed is he that waiteth, and cometh to the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days.* Here are then three different periods assigned, 1260 years, 1290 years, and 1335 years: and what is the precise time of their beginning and consequently of their ending, as well as what are the great and signal events, which will take place at the end of each period,

we can only conjecture, time alone can with certainty discover. If we are mistaken in our conjectures, it is no more than (8) Mr. Mede and other much more learned men have been, who have gone before us in this argument. It is indeed no wonder that we cannot fully understand and explain these things; for as the angel said to Daniel himself, (ver. 4. and 9.) though *many should run to and fro,* should inquire and examin into these things. *and* thereby *knowlege should be increased;* yet the full understanding of them is reserved for the time of the end, *the words are closed up, and sealed till the time of the end.* But however the great uncertainty of these events, which remain yet to be fulfilled, cannot shake the credit and certainty of those particulars, which have already been accomplished. As (9) Prideaux judiciously observes, it is the nature of such prophecies not to be thoroughly understood, till they are thoroughly fulfilled. Not that such prophecies are therefore like the pagan oracles, of an ambiguous, equivocal, and delusive nature. Obscure they may be, but there is a wide difference between obscurity and equivocation. The pagan oracles were purposely worded in such a manner, that if they failed in one sense, they might hold good in another, though (1) directly the contrary: the scripture prophecies have a determined meaning, and though sometimes they may comprehend more events than one, yet are they never applicable to contrary events. The pagan oracles were delivered for the immediate direction of those who consulted them; and therefore a mistake at first was of more fatal consequence; the scripture-prophecies were intended more for the instruction and illumination of future ages, and therefore it is sufficient if time shall illustrate the particulars. The pagan oracles are no sooner understood than they are despised, whereas

(8) See Mede's Works. B. 3. p. 717. De numeris Danielis.

(9) Prid. Connect. Part 2. B. 3. in the conclusion.

(1) As in these instances,

Crœsus Halym penetrans magnam pervertet opum vim, ['Crœsus in passing the river Halys will destroy a great empire.']

Aio te, Æacida, Romanos vincere posse. ['I declare, you, O ye of Æacus, Romans can subdue.']

the reverse is true of the scripture prophecies, and the better you understand, the more you will admire them. The completion of the former demonstrates their fraud and futility, the completion of the latter their truth and dignity.

Upon the whole, what an amazing prophecy is this; comprehending so many various events, and extending through so many successive ages, from the first establishment of the Persian empire, above 350 years before Christ, to the general resurrection! And the farther it extends, and the more it comprehends, the more amazing surely, and the more divine it must appear, if not to an infidel like Porphyry, yet to all who like Grotius have any belief of revelation. How much nobler and more exalted the sense, more important and more worthy to be known by men and to be revealed by God, when taken in this extended view, and applied to this long and yet regular series of affairs, by the most easy and natural construction; than when confined and limited to the times and actions of Antiochus, to which yet it cannot be reconciled by the most strained and unnatural interpretation! What stronger and more convincing proofs can be given or required of a divine providence, and a divine revelation, that there is a God who directs and orders the transactions of the world, and that Daniel was a prophet inspired by him, *a man greatly beloved*, as he is often addressed by the angel! Our blessed Saviour (Matt. xxiv. 15.) hath bestowed upon him the appellation of *Daniel the prophet;* and that is authority sufficient for any Christian: but in this work have been produced such instances and attestations of his being a prophet, as an infidel cannot deny, or if he denies, cannot disprove. The character that is given of him by Josephus is nothing more than strictly his due. It expresseth the sense of the Jewish church; and the same must be the sentiments of every man, who will consider and compare the prophecies and events together. This historian is commending the superior excellence of Daniel's predictions; 'for he was

'wont, (2) says he, not only to foretel future things, as 'other prophets also did; but he likewise determined 'the time, wherein they should happen.' Afterwards having mentioned some of Daniel's prophecies he (3) proceeds thus: 'All these things, God having shown 'them to him, he left in writing, that they who read 'them, and behold the events, might admire Daniel 'for the honor vouchsafed unto him by God; and by 'these things might be convinced how much the Epi-'cureans are mistaken, who deny a providence, and 'allow not that God regards human actions, nor that 'all things are governed by a blessed and immortal 'Being for the preservation of the whole, but assert that 'the world is carried on at random without a guide or 'ruler: which, if it was without a governor as they 'pretend, would have been destroyed by the blind im-

(2) Ου γαρ τα μελλοντα μονον προφητευων διετελει, καθαπερ και οἱ αλλοι προφηται, αλλα και καιρον ὡριζεν, εις ὁν ταυτα αποβησεται. Non enim futura solum, quemadmodum et alii vates, prædicere solebat, sed et tempus, quo hæc eventura erant, præfinivit. [Translated in the text.] Joseph. Antiq. L. 10. Cap. 11. Sect. 7. p. 465. Edit. Hudson.

(3) ταυτα παντα εκεινος, Θεου δειξαντος αυτῳ, συγγραψας κατελειψεν· ὡςε τους αναγινωσκοντας, και τα συμβαινοντα σκοπουντας, βαυμαζειν επι τῃ παρα του Θεου τιμῃ τον Δανιηλον· καὶ τους Επικουρειους εκ τουτων ἑυρισκειν πεπλανημενους, οι την τε προνοιαν εκβαλλουσι του βιου, και τον Θεον ουκ αξιουσιν επιτροπευειν των πραγματων, ουδ' ὑπο της μακαριας και αφθαρτου προ διαμονην των ὁλων ουσιας κυβερνασθαι τα συμπαντα, αμοιρον δ' ἡνιοχου και φροντιςου τον κοσμον αυτοματως φερεσθαι λεγουσιν. ὁς ει τουτον απροςατητος ην τον τροπον, καθαπερ και τας ναυς ερημους κυβερνητων καταδυομενας ὁρωμεν ὑπο των πνευματων, η και τα ἁρματα περιτρεπομενα μη εχοντα τους ἡνιοχουντας, συντριβεις αν απο της απρονοητου φορας, απολωλει και διεφθειρετο. τοις γαρ προειρημενοις ὑπο Δανιηλου, δοκουσι μοι σφοδρα της αληθους δοξης διαμαρτανειν, οἱ τῳ Θεῳ μηδεμιαν ειναι περι των ανθρωπινων αποφαινομενοι προνοιαν· ου γαρ αν κατα την εκεινου προφητειαν, ει συνεβαινεν αυτοματισμῳ τινι τον κοσμον διαγειν, παντα ἑωρωμεν αποβαινοντα. Ista omnia, a Deo sibi monstrata, scriptis consignata reliquit: ut qui ea legerint, et eventus perspexerint, Danielum mirentur ob tam insignem honorem illi a Deo habitum; et Epicureos *magno* in errore versari deprehendant, qui providentiam e vita ejiciunt, et a Deo re *humanas* curari non existimant, nec omnia a natura beata et immortali (ad universitatis rerum perennitatem) regi et administrari *volunt*, sed sine rectore et curatore mundum suopte impetu ferri asseverant: qui si ita ut illi autumant præside careret, quemadmodum naves sine gubernatoribus videmus procellis *et fluctibus* obrui, currusque aurigis destitutos percelli, temerario *sane* motu labefactatus concideret periretque. Cumque ista prædicta fuerint a Danielo, videntur mihi a vera opinione multum aberrare, qui Deum non curare pronunciant quid agat genus humanum: non enim vaticiniis ejus eventus respondisse conspiceremus, si omnia in mundo temeritate regerentur. [Translated in the text.] ibid. p. 466.

'pulse, and have perished and come to nought, as we see 'ships, which are destitute of pilots, overwhelmed by the 'storms, and chariots overturned and broken to pieces, 'which have no drivers. For by these things predicted 'by Daniel, they appear to me widely to err from the 'truth, who declare, that God hath no care of human 'affairs; for we should not see all things succeed ac-'cording to his prophecies, if it happened that the world 'was governed by chance.'

In short we see how well Daniel deserves the character which his contemporary Ezekiel hath given him (xiv. and xxviii.) for his *piety* and *wisdom;* and these usually go together, for as the angel saith, (ver. 10.) *none of the wicked shall understand, but the wise shall understand.* Happy are they, who both know the will of God, and do it!

END OF VOL. I.

Printed by R. & R. Gilbert, St. John's Square, London.

00111106

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 29 September, 2015